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PAPAL HERALDRY

PIUS PP. XI
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A TREATISE ON ECCLESIASTICAL HERALDRY

PART I

PAPAL HERALDRY

BY

DONALD LINDSAY GALBREATH

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To

F. GRAND D'HAUTEVILLE

whose invaluable advice, criticism and assistance have accompanied this book from its inception to its publication

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INTRODUCTION

Among the enormous number of books on heraldry in existence, there are but two dealing solely with the heraldry of the Church and of churchmen. The reason for this apparent neglect of an interesting branch of armorial science is not far to seek, for the student of heraldry in general, if he wishes to do more than compile extracts from previous authors, must make himself intimately acquainted with the history either of a given territory or of a restricted period; he is therefore hardly tempted to look beyond the borders of his own country, still less to adventure on the study of that most international of all institutions, the medieval Church. Yet it is just because the Church was co-extensive with western civilisation that the study of its heraldry is peculiarly interesting, allowing, as it does, the student to observe the reaction of general movements on differing local conditions, and to follow the migration, swift or slow, of heraldic usages from one end of the civilised world to the other.

It is therefore not surprising that the authors of the only two volumes treating this subject should have been, one, an authority on heraldry whose travels, spread over thirty years, took him through nearly the whole of Europe, and the other, a collector with a remarkably extensive acquaintance of the book-plates and book-stamps of the European Continent.

The Rev. Dr John Woodward's *Treatise on Ecclesiastical Heraldry* (Edinburgh and London, 1894) will always remain a very remarkable book; published over thirty years ago for a limited number of subscribers, it has long been out of print and is now almost inaccessible.

Baron du Roure de Paulin's *Héraldique Ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1911), a slim quarto of 40 pages, cannot be compared with Woodward's erudite work, but has the great advantage of being illustrated almost entirely with reproductions of originals.

Apart from these two volumes, numerous articles on ecclesiastical heraldry have appeared in various periodicals, the most important of which are those of H. G. Stroehl, Mgr X. Barbier de Montault, the Rev. Dr Santa Maria, Mgr Battandier, Count Pasini-Frassoni, and Count de St Saud. In view of the enormous extent of the periodical literature touching the subject, including as it does historical, ecclesiastical and artistic publications, I cannot hope to have found all that has been published; important articles may have escaped me for the indication of which I shall be particularly grateful to my readers.

In the present work an attempt has been made to build up on a collection of facts, with due regard to the established canons of historical criticism, an account of the heraldic usages of the Church's institutions and of its individual members. Chapter

and verse have been indicated for all examples drawn from published sources, and where no reference is given the statement may be considered to be founded on what *ipse vidi* or on photographs and casts in my collection. Whatever I have been forced to quote at second-hand is marked with an asterisk.

The blazon used follows no textbook, but is the common-sense system introduced by Mr Oswald Barron in that brilliant periodical *The Ancestor*. It will, I trust, not be incomprehensible to the average historical reader, who justly distrusts the complicated jargon of the older textbooks. The illustrations in the text are mostly drawn by myself and make no claim beyond that of reasonable accuracy. Figs. 5, 10, 11, 20, 27, 54, 61–63, 67, 68, 73, 99, 127, 128, 138, 151, 165, 171 and 187 have been drawn for me by M. F. Bovard of Lausanne, Fig. 44 by M. A. Bunnenberg of Hanover, and the photographs reproduced are chiefly from the invaluable collections of Messrs Anderson, Alinari, and Moscioni of Rome. To Prof. O. Hupp I am indebted for permitting me to reproduce three of his drawings from the *Münchener Kalender*, and to M. P. Boesch of Berne for my frontispiece and another woodcut (facing p. 64). Reproductions from published sources are indicated in the notes. My thanks are due to the Very Rev. the Dean of Windsor for permission to reproduce one of the stall-plates of the Knights of the Garter from Sir H. St J. Hope's work (Fig. 119), and to the Committee of the British School of Athens for permitting me to utilise two illustrations from an article of the late Mr Hasluck's in the School Annual (Figs. 21 and 37).

For a work dealing with nine centuries of the history of the greater part of Europe, the most painstaking collection of material must necessarily be very incomplete, all the more so when both the amount and the quality of the published material vary enormously from place to place, and when a lifetime would not suffice for a fairly complete personal investigation of even a part of the territory to be covered. My aim has therefore been to make myself reasonably well acquainted with the published material concerning the whole of Western and Central Europe, and to attempt a closer study of the usages of several restricted regions, namely those where I have had the good fortune to find friends who have most generously placed their intimate knowledge of local documents at my disposal. To the unfailing help and encouragement of M. F. Th. Dubois of Lausanne, M. W. R. Staehelin of Basle, Prof. O. Hupp of Schleissheim, Baron E. von Berchem of Munich, M. Jean Tricou of Lyons, and M. Paul Boesch of Berne, this book owes its very existence, for without them I could never have attempted the extensive survey to which I have been able to devote but the leisure allowed by a busy professional life. Much of the material for this book has been gathered with camera and pencil from churches, cloisters, and museums; to my companions M. Staehelin, M. Grand d'Hauteville of St Légier, Dr L. Helg of Montreux and most of all to my father, I owe the memory of happy journeys.

The difficulties inherent in working at a distance from libraries and museums have been obviated to some extent by the very liberal assistance afforded to me by the authorities of the State Libraries of Fribourg, Lausanne and Geneva, the Swiss National Library in Berne, the Museum of Art and History of Geneva, and the State Archives of Basle, Fribourg and Lausanne, of which I wish to express my grateful appreciation. It has been my pleasant experience to meet with nothing but the kindest response to my inquiries, and my thanks are due particularly to the authorities of the Swiss National Museum at Zurich, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Bibliothèque Publique in Lyons, the British Museum, the Vatican Library, the Vatican Archives and the State Library at Munich, for furthering my studies and for permitting the publication of their treasures.

Finally I must express my particular indebtedness to Mgr Besson, Bishop of Lausanne, Geneva and Fribourg, to Mgr Kirsch, Director of the Institute of Christian Archaeology in Rome, to Mgr Giovanni Mercati, prefect of the Vatican Library, to Mgr Angelo Mercati, prefect of the Vatican Archives, and to Canon Tonoli of the Abbey of St Maurice d'Agaune, for the generous assistance they have afforded me.

DONALD L. GALBREATH

BAUGY SUR CLARENS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.H.S.	*Archives Héraldiques Suisses.* Neuchâtel, Zürich, Olten, Lausanne, Basle, 1887 ff.
A.P.C.	*Annuaire Pontifical Catholique.* Paris, 1898 ff.
Birch	Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum.* London, 1887–1900.
Blancard	Blancard, *Iconographie des Sceaux et Bulles. . . des Archives départementales des Bouches du Rhône.* Marseille and Paris, 1860.
D.d'A.	Douet d'Arcq, "Collection de Sceaux." *Archives de l'Empire. Inventaires et Documents.* Paris, 1868.
Demay, *Clair.*	Demay, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Collection Clairambault.* Paris, 1885.
Engel	Engel et Serrure, *Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Age.* Paris, 1884.
Greg.	Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter.* 5th ed. Stuttgart and Berlin, 1908.
Herold	*Der Deutsche Herold, Zeitschrift für Wappen-, Siegel- und Familienkunde.* Berlin, 1870 ff.
Jb. Adler	*Jahrbuch der K. K. heraldischen Gesellschaft Adler in Wien.* Vienna, 1871 ff.
Litta	Litta, *Famiglie celebri Italiane.* Milan, 1819–85. Naples, 1908–23.
Mann	Mann, *The Lives of the Popes of the Middle Ages.* 1st and 2nd eds. London, 1925–29.
Moroni	Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica.* Venice, 1840–61.
Müntz XIV	Müntz, "Les Arts à la Cour des Papes au XIVe siècle." *Revue de l'Art Chrétienne,* 1892.
Müntz XV	Müntz, "Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XVe et XVIe siècle." *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises de Rome et Athènes.* Fasc. IV, IX, XXVIII.
Pasini	Pasini-Frassoni, *Essai d'Armorial des Papes.* Rome, 1906.
Pastor	Pastor, *The history of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages.* 1st to 5th eds. London, 1923–29.
R.A.C.	*Revue de l'Art Chrétienne.* Lille, Paris, Arras, 1857–1914.
Richenthal	Ulrich von Richenthal, *Conciliumsbuch.* Augsburg, Anton Sorg, 1485. Facsimile edition. Potsdam, s.d. (1922). The woodcuts of this edition follow the manuscripts so closely that they may be considered satisfactory evidence for the usages of the time of the council; for the MSS see *A.H.S.* 1925, p. 104.
Riv. Ar.	*Rivista del Collegio Araldico* (*Rivista Araldica*). Rome, 1903 ff.
Ser.	Serafini, *Le Monete et le Bolle plumbee pontificie del Medagliere Vaticano.* Milan, 1910 ff.

PAPAL HERALDRY

CHAPTER I

THE CROSS

THE origin of heraldry has long been a matter of controversy, and is likely to remain so indefinitely. Of the many theories advanced at various times, two at any rate, the one which connects heraldry with the personal and family symbols of the Ancients, and the other which supposes it to have been borrowed from the Orient, may be considered to have been definitively refuted.

At present, the theory generally accepted derives heraldry from the decorations of the knights' shields, which, though originally subjected to capricious change by the individual, ultimately became hereditary in the course of the 12th century. This theory, correct as far as it goes, fails to cover the whole ground, and has been amended by Anthony von Siegenfeld[1], who derived the earliest coats of arms from the banners and plastic ensigns under which the troops of the separate lordships were grouped in warfare. Although this also does not solve all the difficulties presented by the frequently conflicting evidence of 12th-century armoury, it may be considered to be firmly established, as far as the origin of territorial arms and of the oldest coats of arms in general is concerned.

When we begin to study the heraldry of the Church, we find, as far back as the time of Charlemagne, a mention of the *vexillum* of Rome, which, together with the keys of the grave of St Peter, was sent by Pope Leo III to the *Patricius* and *Dux* of the Romans, a symbol of his office as commander of the Roman militia[2]. This banner is represented in the famous contemporary mosaic of the Lateran *triclinium*, where St Peter is shown giving a stole to Pope Leo III, and to Charlemagne a green flag of the gonfalon type with three tails, strewn with numerous small gold dots and with six disks concentrically coloured red, black and gold, which doubtless are meant to represent embroidery (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Mosaic of the Lateran *triclinium*, before restoration. From Ciacconius, *Vitae...Pontificum et...Cardinalium*, ed. Oldoini, Rome, 1677.

Owing to the lack of contemporary evidence it is impossible to say whether the political preponderance of the Popes in Rome caused the *vexillum* of the city, that is of the Roman militia, to be considered that of the Papacy, or whether this banner disappeared with the old military organisation. At any rate, no further mention is made of any flag in Rome until the reign of Benedict VIII, who, according to *Bernardo Marango's Pisan chronicle, gave Sardinia in 1017 to the city of Pisa *cum privilegio et vexillo S. Petri*[3]. However, as Marango wrote in the 12th century, he may have transferred the usages of his own times to the previous century, and may refer merely to the *infeudatio per vexillum* common

1 A. Anthony v. Siegenfeld, "Das Landeswappen der Steiermark," *Forschungen zur Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte der Steiermark*, III, Graz, 1900. 2 Greg. II. 451. 3 Mann, V. 175, n. 3.

in his day. We must disregard further notices of the banners used in similar ceremonies, as they are quite as likely to refer to the fief granted, as to the grantor.

The first instance of a Pope presenting a specially blessed flag to be borne in a military expedition of which he wanted to mark his approval is said[1] to be that of Benedict IX in 1044, in the case of the campaign of the Emperor Henry III against the pagan reaction in Hungary, but it is rather remarkable that no banner or flag of the Papacy should be mentioned in the accounts of the first military expedition undertaken by a Pope, the campaign of Leo IX against the Normans which ended in the disastrous battle of Civitella, 1053. Six years later, in 1059, William of Montreuil (the Good Norman) is said by Orderic Vitalis[2] to have been created by Nicholas II the armed advocate or standard-bearer of the Roman See, a proof of the existence of a more or less established and generally recognised banner of the Church.

Alexander II presented three specially blessed flags during his reign; one to Roger of Sicily, to encourage him and his Normans in their struggle against the Saracens[3]; another, said to have been white with a red cross, to Erembald, captain of Milan and leader of the reforming party of that city, *in publico consistorio vexillum S. Petri Herembaldo dedit eumque Romanae et Universae Ecclesiae vexilliferum fecit*[4]; and a third to William the Conqueror for his expedition into England. This last flag is represented at least twice in the Bayeux tapestry, once in the hands of the duke's flagbearer and once in those of William himself[5]. In the former of these two cases, the flag is white with a yellow cross formy cantonned by four blue disks and has a yellow border and three tails, two green and one yellow (Fig. 2), while in the latter case, though the colours and the number of the tails are different, the cross appears again. Freeman[6] was unable to see the Pope's banner in this tapestry, apparently because he was looking for the square banner of a later period instead of the gonfalon with streamers.

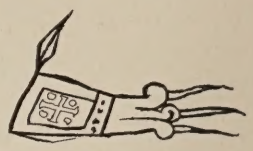


Fig. 2. William the Conqueror's flag. Bayeux tapestry.

Parallel with this flag of the gonfalon type we find the persistence of the classical *signum*, a staff tipped by a plastic figure, in this case a cross, with a short oblong of red cloth fastened to a transverse bar below it. We may recognise this type in the *crux altissima in quodam plaustro erecta et rubro vexillo decorata* under which the *fideles sancti Petri* went to fight against Henry IV in 1086[7]. This may have served as a model for the standard with the *vexillum S. Petri* mentioned by Simon of Durham (1138)[8] and was evidently copied from the famous Milanese Carroccio.

Nothing is known of the appearance of the banner of St Peter sent by Victor III to the Pisan and Genoese fleet for their expedition against the pirates of El Mehedia in 1087[9], nor of the flag, referred to in 1098 as *signum magni papae*, entrusted by Pope Urban II to Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, the papal legate present at the first crusade[10], nor yet of the *vexillum* given by Paschalis II to Bohemond of Antioch in 1106 for the furthering of the crusade[11]. We know equally little of the *vexillum Sedis Apostolicae* borne by the Pisans in 1114 during their war with the Saracens of the Balearic Islands. According

1 Mann, v. 229. The date of this expedition is doubtful.

2 **Hist. Eccles.* III. iii. 59, quoted by Mann, VI. 245.

3 Mann, VI. 307.

4 *Cambridge Medieval History*, v. 47; Greg. IV. 147, with reference to **Acta Sanctorum*, June 27, p. 291.

5 Levé, *La tapisserie de la reine Mathilde, dite la tapisserie de Bayeux*, Paris, 1919, scenes 64 and 53. I follow M. Levé's opinion that the tapestry was made before the death of William.

6 *Norman Conquest*, 2nd ed. III. 465.

7 "Chronicon Bernoldi," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, v. 445, quoted by Gritzner, "Symbole und Wappen des alten deutschen Reiches," Leipzig, 1902, p. 39; in *Leipziger Studien aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte*, VIII. 3.

8 Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ad v. *standardum*.

9 Mann, VII. 241.

10 Perrin, *British flags*, Cambridge, 1922, p. 22.

11 Mann, VIII. 109.

to a contemporary metrical account[1], it was one of three flags borne during the expedition; the *signifer urbis Pisanae* bore a flag which must have been that of the Commune, the consul Ildebrando bore *Sanctae vexilla Mariae*[2], while *Sedis Apostolicae vexillum detulit Atho*. More than 250 years later, Michele di Vico in his **Breviarium Historiae Pisanae* speaks of this last flag as a *vexillum vermileum* and says that in consequence the Pisans hereafter always flew a red flag, but this is evidently only an attempt to explain the origin of the plain red communal flag of Pisa, borne by the *signifer urbis*, the colour of which is mentioned independently in 1242 and 1350[3].

In the first crusade we hear of a cross being used as a badge by the crusaders, *ferentes in humero dextro crucis vexillum*, while in the second crusade it is borne *in frontibus et galeis, in scutis et vexillis*. The Emperor Conrad III goes to the crusade *sub vexillo sanctae crucis*, which is certainly a banner with a cross, the colour of the field being indicated in the letter (1146–47) to King Louis of France, *Ponesque vexilla tua rosea usque ad extremos labores Herculis*...[4]. In some of these cases the banners mentioned may have been standards set on carts, but generally we may consider them to have more or less resembled the gonfalon of the Bayeux tapestry.

A new development occurred in 1203 when Innocent III sent a flag to Kaloyan, Tsar of the Bulgars and Vlachs, together with a letter explaining its symbolism[5]. This flag bore a cross and the keys of St Peter, *pretendit autem non sine mysterio crucem et claves, quia Beatus Petrus Apostolus, et crucem in Christo sustinuit, et claves a Christo recepit*, and another mention of it is found in a letter from Kaloyan to Innocent in 1205[6].

After more than a century's interval this flag reappears in the augmentation granted by Bernardo Cucuico, rector of the Patrimony of St Peter, to the town of Viterbo in 1316, allowing the citizens to add to their arms the *vexillum et insignia* of the Church[7]. Originally, the arms of Viterbo had shown a standing lion gardant (heraldically speaking, a standing leopard) in front of a palm-tree, and so they appear on the loggia of the papal palace at Viterbo (1267). Cucuico's diploma, still preserved in the

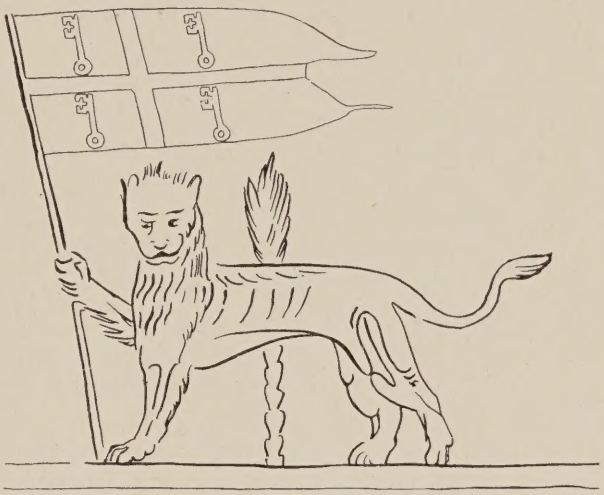


Fig. 3. The Viterbo lion holding the banner of the Church. 1316. From the original grant in the Viterbo Communal Library.

Viterbo Communal Library, shows the lion holding a red oblong flag with two tails, with a white cross cantonned by four upright white keys, one in each quarter (Fig. 3). Apart from its specific importance, this document is of general interest as being probably the oldest grant of arms still in existence which shows a painting of the arms granted.

Another example of these arms of the Papacy may be seen above the door of the entrance to the Palazzo dei Consoli at Gubbio, where they are flanked by those of Gubbio

1 *Laurentius Veronensis, *De Bello Majoricano*. Perrin, *op. cit.* p. 22.

2 The poet uses the plural for the sake of the metre.

3 Perrin, *op. cit.* pp. 22, 23 and note.

4 Gritzner, *op. cit.* p. 40. At the same period are mentioned Stephen the Norman, *vexillifer*, 1118. Greg. IV. 368—banner of St Peter, 1124, 1159 and 1188. Mann, VIII. 221, IX. 309, X. 346.

5 *Baluzius, *Epistolarum Innocentii III Pontificis libri XI*, 1682. Moroni, XI. 178.

6 Mann, XI. 293.

7 Scriattoli, *Viterbo nei suoi monumenti*, Rome, 1915–20, p. 47. ...*ultra arma propria quae habetis, scilicet leonis cum palma, vexillum et insignia Romanae Ecclesiae per ipsum leonem portanda, scilicet sicut superius designata et subscripta....* *A.P.C.* 1909, p. 94.

and of Anjou (Fig. 4); the inscription states the work to have been *Chome(n)cata* in 1332 and finished in 1336.

Several further examples are to be found in the Museo Civico at Bologna. The front page of the statutes of the Mercers' Guild (1362) shows four shields with the arms of Bologna, of the Church, of Innocent VI, and of the Guild (Fig. 5). The shield of the Church is *Gules a cross silver, between four pairs of crossed and tied keys all silver.* The same shield, together with those of Pope Martin V, of the cardinal-legate Carillo, of Bologna and of the Guild, appear on the *Brano della matricola della Società de' Bisilieri dell' an* 1422. Here, however, the page containing the arms has been added about 1550–80, but is almost certainly a copy of the original page.

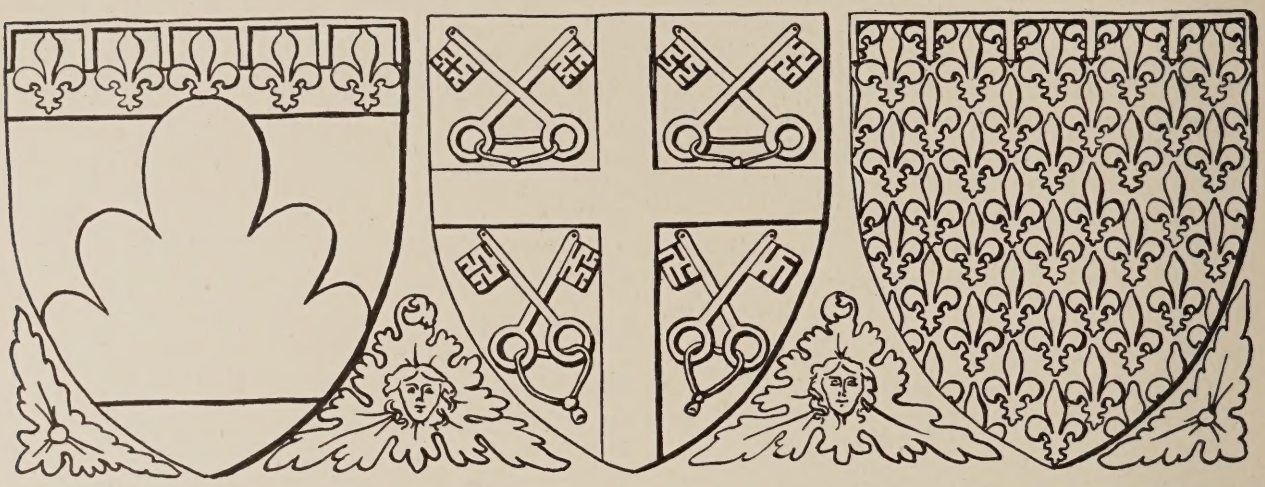


Fig. 4. Arms of Gubbio, of the Church and of Anjou. 1332–36. Bas-relief, Palazzo dei Consoli, Gubbio.

Fig. 5. Arms of Bologna, the Church, Innocent VI and the Mercers' Guild. 1362. Museo Civico, Bologna.

It would seem that it was under this blazon that Cardinal Albornoz undertook the conquest of the States of the Church for the Papacy (1353–67), and its persistence in Bologna may be due to the fact that the city had been his headquarters during most of his campaigns. The cardinal is known to have put up the arms of the Church in the towns he captured, and the papal accounts have preserved the record of a payment in 1360 to Guarnerio, a painter of Cesena, for painting the shields of the Pope, the Church, the King of Hungary (Anjou), the legate (Albornoz), the treasurer and the city of Cesena[1]. No original example of the great cardinal's arms seems to have been preserved, but a 16th-century book of papal arms in the Vatican Library[2] contains a letter of the same period with a sketch of three shields, those of Innocent VI, of the Church (with cross and keys), and of Albornoz, which were painted at the end of what appears to have been a laudatory address presented to the cardinal: *sopra le dette armi vi e l' effigie del Car'l egidio con huomoni armati à cavallo, et donne representanti città con le chiavi et alcuni versi con certa narratione à Laude suo et de p'p*[3]. There is also a reference to another similar set of shields still existing at the time in Spello.

1 Müntz XIV, 279. 2 MS *Vat. lat.* 3755, vol. 1, before p. 131. See below, p. 63.

3 Curiously enough the writer takes the Pope's arms to be those of Coelestine V and is driven to strange shifts to explain their presence.

The cross cantonned by keys does not seem to have held its own against the simpler blazon of the crossed keys alone, for while the device in question still appears regularly in the Avignon coinage from the 14th to the 16th century, there is such an enormous number of coins of that period showing a reverse with a cross cantonned by various heraldic charges or other objects, that it seems impossible not to regard the cross on these coins as a mere numismatic device instead of a heraldic ordinary constituting a part of a coat of arms.

It appears from the foregoing that the banners with the cross were referred to during the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries as *Vexillum Sancti Petri*, *Vexillum Sedis Apostolicae*, *Signum Magni Papae*, *Vexillum Ecclesiae*, *Vexillum Romanae et Universae Ecclesiae* and *Vexillum Sanctae Crucis*. We may therefore draw the conclusion that the cross was regarded as representing the Christian World in general, and St Peter, the Holy See, the Pope or the Church in particular.

The earliest colours, yellow or gold on a white or silver ground, appear in the Bayeux tapestry, and in a contemporary drawing of the Emperor Frederick I, showing him as a crusader with a white shield bearing a gold cross[1]. They reappear in the 13th-century arms of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

At the beginning of the 13th century, with the appearance of the keys of St Peter, the cross loses its general significance while still remaining the symbol of the Christian Church. White on a red ground, it appears as a symbol of the Spiritual Church (the Church as opposed to the Synagogue), as well as on the banners borne by the Paschal Lamb and by the Risen Christ[2]. It also continues to make an occasional appearance in the pageantry of the papal court, as, for instance, on the pennons decorating the trumpets at the coronation of Pius II[3], and on the banner of the Crusade which was still carried at the entry of Julius II into Bologna[4]. Nor did the red cross on a white ground disappear. The anti-pope Benedict XIII consecrated two such crusading banners[5] in 1407 to be borne by King John II of Castile against the Moors of Granada, and several South German books of arms[6] dating from 1460 to 1495 show a shield with a red cross (the horizontal arms arched) in a white field, as the arms of the Church "ECCLESIA" in contradistinction to the "ROM" of the crossed keys (see Pls. III, IV and V)[7].

1 *Gesta Frederici I in Italia*, MS *Vat. lat.* 2001, published by E. Monoci, *Anonymi Geste di Frederico I in Italia*, Rome, 1887. Stacke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1880, I. 404.

2 Occasionally the tinctures are reversed.

3 *pro taffetano albo pro crucibus dictorum pennonum* (*pro tubicinibus*)—Müntz XV, IV. 332.

4 Moroni, XCVI. 129.

5 *Ibid.* 118.

6 The so-called Haggenberg book of arms at St Gall, Hans Ingeram's book of arms belonging to Dr Höfflinger of Vienna, Rugen's book of arms at Innsbruck.

7 Another similar book of arms (MS 8769 of the National Library at Vienna), and the Grünwald book of arms at Munich attribute this shield to the church of St John Lateran *mater sancte ecclesie* in opposition to the shield with the parallel keys of the *ecclesia sancti petri* (see below, Fig. 122 and Pl. II). For the books of arms quoted in this and in the preceding note see *A.H.S.* 1926–28, and v. Berchem, Galbreath and Hupp, *Die Wappenbücher des deutschen Mittelalters*, Basle, 1929.

CHAPTER II

THE KEYS

Representations of St Peter holding the keys are to be found as early as the 5th century. Sometimes he is shown with one, but more frequently with two keys, which he holds upwards or has hanging from his hand by a cord. He is even represented occasionally with three keys.

Examples of the independent use of the keys as emblems or badges of the Papacy are

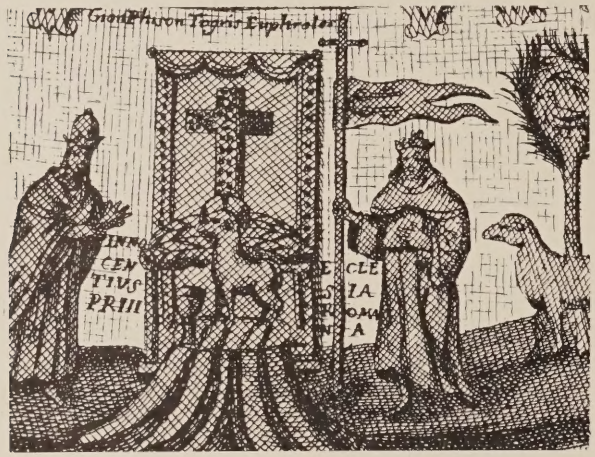


Fig. 6. Innocent III and the Church from the absidal mosaic of Old St Peter's. From Ciampini, *De sacris aedificiis*, Rome, 1693.

unknown before the beginning of the 13th century[1]. Their earliest certain appearance is on the banner held by the figure marked "ECCLESIA ROMANA" in the absidal mosaic of Old St Peter's. This mosaic, which dated from the time of Innocent III (1198–1216), has been preserved for us in a sketch made under Sixtus V and reproduced in 1693 by Ciampini[2]. The keys are hanging from a cord and are placed at right angles to the cross-tipped staff (Fig. 6); this detail shows the essential accuracy of the engraving, as the fact of the vertical axis (heraldically the line of the pale), being at right angles to the staff in the older gonfalon, while it is parallel to the staff in the later square or oblong banner, had been lost sight of by heraldic writers until lately[3].

In the **Chronicon de Rebus in Italia Gestis* the papal troops invading Apulia[4], during the struggle of Gregory IX with Frederick II, are spoken of as *clave signati* and as bearing *clavium signa*; the former words apparently refer to a badge worn by the individual soldiers, while the *clavium signa* seem most likely to have been banners bearing the keys alone and resembling the gonfalon of the mosaic.

The coinage of this period shows an infrequent but fairly continuous appearance of the perpendicular keys. They are on a coin of Charles I of Anjou, wards upward and without the cord connecting the handles (Fig. 7); the legend "REX SICILIE" fixes the date as not earlier than 1265, and also indicates that the keys represent his feudal superior, the Pope[5]. Curiously enough, earlier coins of Charles are found with only one

Fig. 7. Coin of Charles I of Anjou. (1/1.) From Engel and Serrure, *Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Age*, II, Paris, 1894.

1 Cardinal Borgia published in 1774 (**Tavole delle monete langobarde di Benevento*, quoted by Promis, see below) the reproduction of a small coin of Benevento showing a key and an R, which was attributed by Promis (*Monete dei Romani Pontifici avanti el Mille*, Turin, 1858) to Pope Paschalis II (1102). Comm. Serafini, conservator of the Vatican Numismatic Collection, has very kindly informed me that in his opinion this coin, which is now in the Vatican collection, is a forgery of the 18th century. A number of other coins attributed by Promis and Cinagli (*Le Monete de' Papi*, Fermo, 1848) to the 12th century are dated by Comm. Serafini from 1250 to 1350.

2 *De sacris aedificiis*, Rome, 1693, pl. XIII.

3 *A.H.S.* 1923, p. 10.

4 *Ad ann.* 1229, Mann, XIII. 234, n. 4.

5 Engel, II. 391.

key and inscribed with the title "COMES ANDEGAVENSIS." These date from a time previous to any connection of his with the Papacy, and the single key is considered to be a pictorial development of the monogram of Fulk Nera of Anjou which appears on Charles' earliest coins[1]; it would therefore have nothing to do with the keys of the Apostle.

The pennies struck at Avignon between 1239 and 1251 also show a key on the obverse[2]. This key signifies the *Jus tenendi claves portarum* of the consuls, and does not refer to the Papacy but to the city which did not at that time belong to the Popes.

The papal keys appear again, perpendicular, wards upward and lacking the cord, on anonymous coins struck at Viterbo[3] between 1250 and 1350, as well as on coins of Benedict XI, of John XXII, of Benedict XII, of Urban VI and of Leo X[4]. Tied and hanging from the cord they are placed in a shield which is carved on the screen, dated 1438, surrounding the Colonna Santa in the chapel of the Pietà of St Peter's (Fig. 8); without a shield, they appear on an Avignon bulla[5] of Calixtus III, and in the water-mark of paper at Reggio[6] in 1336. The last appearance of the perpendicular keys in the shield of the Papacy is in Virgil Solis' book of arms[7] of the year 1555 (Fig. 9).

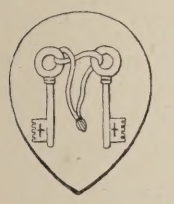


Fig. 8. Shield from the screen of the Colonna Santa, St Peter's. 1438.

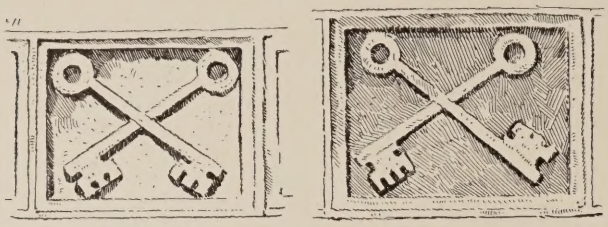
The perpendicular keys became in the 15th century the arms of the church and chapter of St Peter's, and the marble relief mentioned above is probably the oldest example of their use as such. The most frequent use made of them is without a shield as the badge of the fabric. In a series of painted books of arms[8] executed in South Germany between 1460 and 1495, the "ECCLESIA STI PETRI" is given the arms *Silver two keys wards downward in pale gules, tied azure*, but this inversion of the tinctures is probably only artistic license (Pls. II, III and V). Otherwise the field is always gules, and the keys are either both gold, or more frequently both silver, tied gold. Only Virgil Solis makes the field azure and the keys silver.

Fig. 9. Arms of the Papacy. From Virgil Solis, *Wappenbuchlein*, Nuremberg, 1555.

The present arrangement of the keys of St Peter, by which they are crossed in saltire, was not arrived at before the latter half of the 13th century. Apparently the first appearance of the crossed keys, which were destined to become the best known and the most

1 Engel, II. 390. 2 *Ibid.* 782. 3 Ser. I. x. 25–26.
4 Ser. I. xi. 2, I. xi. 5, I. xi. 9, I. xiii. 25, I. xxi. 8. 5 Birch, 21948.
6 Briquet, *Les filigranes*, Paris, 1907, n. 3508. A single key appears in Pisa and Bologna in 1293 (3775).
7 *Wappenbuchlein Zu Ehren Der Römischen Kay und Ku. Mt, auch Bäbstlicher Heyligkeit. . . . Durch Virgilz Solis Maler unnd Burger Zu Nürmberg, mit sonderm fleys gemacht* (1555), text and arms engraved; zincotype reproduction, Munich, 1886.
8 The Vienna (Fig. 122), the Grünwald (Pl. II), the St Gall (Pl. V) and Ingeram's (Pl. III) books of arms, see p. 5, n. 7. In Rugen's book of arms (Pl. VI) the keys are placed wards upward and attributed to St Peter, *Das Wappen Sannct petters des ersten paubsts.*

enduring of the various devices of the Church, is on the loggia of the papal, now episcopal, palace of Viterbo dating from 1267. It is significant that the keys are here sometimes placed wards downward and inward, and at other times with one ward inward and one



Figs. 10 and 11. Keys from the papal palace at Viterbo. 1267.

outward (Figs. 10 and 11). A somewhat rudely sculptured stone in the museum at Pesaro, which seems to date from the 13th century, shows a trefoiled cross flanked at the top by two pairs of crossed keys in the position almost invariably found hereafter, with the wards upward and outward, while two single

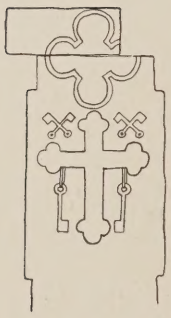


Fig. 12. Carved stone in the museum at Pesaro.

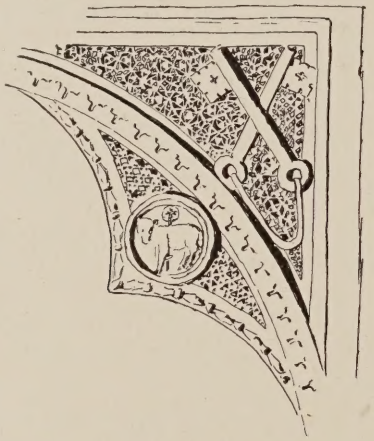


Fig. 13. Part of altar-canopy. Grottaferrata.

keys are pendent from the crossbar of the cross (Fig. 12). In the abbey of Grottaferrata, on fragments of a beautiful Cosmatine altar-canopy, dating from the end of the 13th century, are two pairs of crossed keys with the ring-shaped handles connected by a cord (Fig. 13). This cord, of varying length and colour (white, black, gold or blue), sometimes elaborately knotted and generally ending in tassels, is from that time on usually found connecting the handles of the crossed keys, but examples where it is lacking occur sporadically until well into the 15th century. Occasionally in the 14th and 15th centuries the cord is replaced by a chain.

The final passage from the symbol to the armorial bearing is shown by the keys being placed in a shield. The earliest example of this would seem to be a seal of the captains of the Guelph Party of Lucca[1], which shows a shield party of Anjou (France Ancient with a label), and of a field party fess-wise with a mitre in chief and two crossed keys in base

Fig. 14. Seal of the captains of the Guelph Party of Lucca. (1/1.)

(Fig. 14). The shield thus contains the bearings of the Angevin king of Naples, the temporal head of the party; the symbol of the bishop, the spiritual head of Lucca; and the arms of the Papacy, which it is curious to find placed last in the shield. The date of the matrix is uncertain, but it is probably from the end of the 13th century, and must have been engraved before 1308 when the power of the Guelph nobility in Lucca came to an end.

The appearance of the keys as part of a composite coat, before they appear independently as a separate coat of arms, should be noted, as the two later devices of the Papacy, the keys surmounted by the tiara and the keys surmounted by the pavilion, show the same sequence in their development.

The earliest example of a separate shield of the Papacy seems to be a shield carved in

1 Charvet, *Description des collections de sceaux-matrices de E. Dongé*, Paris, 1872. Title-page and p. 321. E. Dongé was a figment of Charvet's imagination. The collection was his own.

relief in the cloisters of the abbey of Sassovivo near Foligno, which is dated 1314 (Fig. 15);

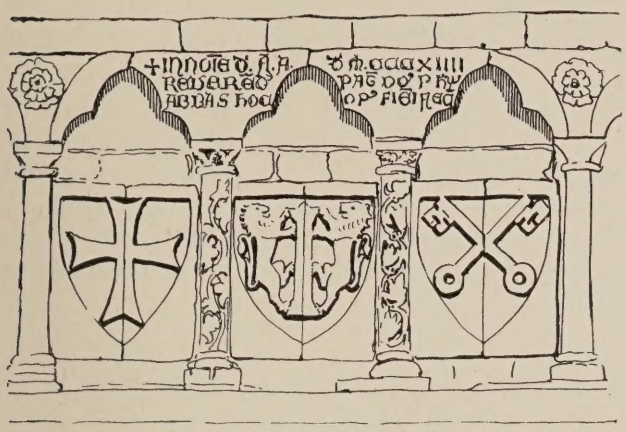


Fig. 15. Arms of the monastery of Sassovivo, the abbot and the Church. 1314. Sassovivo near Foligno.

Fig. 16. Seal of the *auditor curie camere domini pape*. 1319. (1/1.) From Blancard, *Iconographie des Sceaux et Bulles . . . des Archives . . . des Bouches du Rhône*, Marseilles and Paris, 1860.

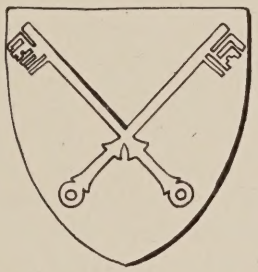


Fig. 17. Shield from the Palazzo Gherardi, Pistoja.

the seal[1] of the *auditor curie camere domini pape*, 1319 (Fig. 16) and that of Gaubert, papal chamberlain and bishop of Marseilles[2] in 1320, which is almost exactly similar to the one he used in 1325 when he had been advanced to the archbishopric of Arles (Fig. 76)[3], all show two shields, one with the keys and the other with the quartered coat of John XXII. Two shields at Pistoja, one on the façade of the Palazzo Gherardi (Fig. 17), and the other, with the handles of the keys

Fig. 18. Seal of Aimery de Lautrec, rector of the March of Ancona etc. 1318. (1/1.)

tied, in the court of the Palazzo Communale, may be older.

An interesting example of the use of the keys is the seal[4] of Aimery de Lautrec, papal chaplain and rector of a part of the Papal States in 1318 (Fig. 18), where the shield shows the rector's family arms, *Vair papelonné plain* with a chief, party of the keys and of the arms of John XXII.

A carved stone shield dated 1337 in the

1 Arch. Vat. *AA Arm C* 316; other examples: 1321 *AA Arm C* 106; 1321 *AA Arm C* 463. Fig. 16 is a reproduction of Blancard's illustration (II. pl. 107, no. 9) taken from a document dated 1325.

2 Arch. Vat. *Instr. misc.* 721.

3 Demay, *Clair.* 268.

4 Arch. Vat. *Instr. misc.* 636; *AA Arm I–XVIII* 3765; *AA Arm I–XVIII* 3766. His full title is: *Amelius de Lautrico, prepositus bellomontis, domini pape capellanus, marchie anconitanensis, masse trebarie, terrarum sancte Agathe, civitatis urbini et comitatus quondam ipsius in spiritualibus et temporalibus rector pro sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam generalis.* Most of these titles appear in the legend of the seal. See also *Riv. Ar.* 1910, p. 751. He is probably the personage who later became abbot of St Sernin, bishop of Castres in 1326 and died in 1337. See Baluzius, *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium*, ed. Mollat, II. 857.

Palazzo dei Consoli at Gubbio is particularly interesting, as it retains traces of its colouring, the keys being white and the field red (Fig. 19). From this time on cases of shields with the crossed keys, generally tied, are fairly frequent. The mention of a shield in the wrought

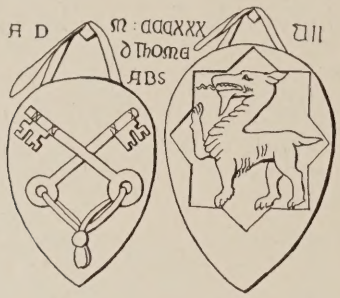


Fig. 19. Shields in the Palazzo dei Consoli, Gubbio. 1337.

iron grille (by Conte of Lecco and his son Giacomo, 1337–38) (Fig. 20) and of a painted hanging strewn with such shields (by Ugolino di Prete Ilario, 1357–64) in the chapel of the SS. Corporale, both in the cathedral at Orvieto, stone carvings (Figs. 21 and 37)

Fig. 20. Part of wrought iron grille, Orvieto. 1337–38.

from the castle in Smyrna (*ca.* 1355)[1], a seal of Stephen, archbishop of Toulouse and apostolic chamberlain, 1359[2], and stone relief-shields in the cloisters of St John Lateran (Fig. 23) and at Spoleto (Rocca, both *temp.* Urban V), and at Mesgéd Khanzadé, on the island of Rhodes[3] (*ca.* 1365), and the enamelled shields on the lost reliquary-heads of SS. Peter and Paul (*temp.* Urban V) will suffice. The use of the arms with the crossed keys, principally on banners and embroideries, can be traced in the account-books of the Popes throughout the 15th century[4]; in the coinage they appear very frequently in the 14th and 15th centuries, and occasionally even as late as the time of Clement VIII[5]. After forming the principal blazon of the Church from the middle of the 14th century to the end of the 15th century,

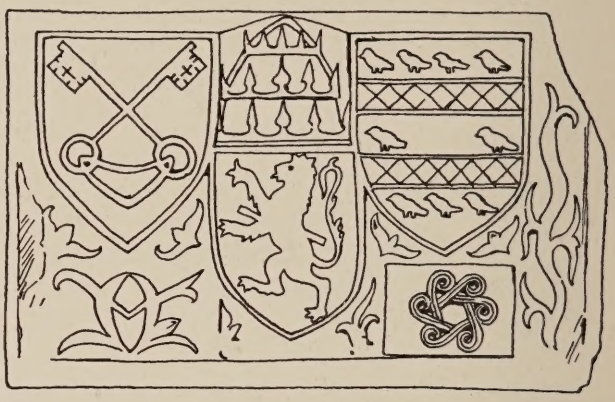


Fig. 21. Arms of the Church, Innocent VI and Alamagna (?). Smyrna castle. From *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVII.

the crossed keys have continued to some extent to serve as emblem of the Church until the present day, still appearing, for example, on the seals of the *S. Poenitenceria*. Shields showing the crossed keys (gold and silver on a red field) and with the tiara as "timbre[6]" were used at the entombment of Leo XIII in St John Lateran in 1924[7].

In the grille at Orvieto, the handles of the keys begin to show the ornamental piercing which became the rule later on (Fig. 20), but on a shield above the door of the baptistery at Pistoja, which dates from about 1350, the handles are still plain rings. The cross-shaped

1 Hasluck, "Heraldry of the Rhodian Knights formerly in Smyrna Castle," in *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVII, p. 145.

2 Blancard, pl. 109, no. 4.

3 *Riv. Ar.* 1914, p. 81.

4 Müntz XV, IV. 165 (Nicholas V); IV. 325 (Pius II); XXXVIII. 226, 267, 283, 303 (Sixtus IV).

5 Ser. III. xiii. 10–17. After the 15th century only in the coins of Avignon and Carpentras.

6 Owing to the absence of an equivalent term in English heraldry, the French word "timbre" is used as a general term for the objects, chiefly different types of headgear, which appear above the shield.

7 *A.P.C.* 1925, p. 97.

cuts in the wards appear in the keys on the tabernacle of Grottaferrata, but north of the Alps the plain serrated wards are occasionally found at the end of the 14th century and even later.

The colours of this coat have varied a good deal. The field is almost always red, occasionally blue. At first the keys are white, then comes a time when gold keys are found, and finally the present usage of placing a gold key in bend across a silver one in bend sinister slowly makes its way.

A banner of the Church *de panno rubeo cum clavibus Ecclesiae Romanae* is referred to at Benevento[1] in 1331; in 1337 we have the painted stone shield at Gubbio already mentioned, and red banners and hangings with white or silver crossed keys, sometimes tied gold, appear in the crusading scene in the miniatures of the Statutes of the Neapolitan Order of the Holy Ghost (1352)[2]. Froissart[3], in his *Chronicles* referring to the events of the year 1383, is the first to blazon the arms of the Church, *faisait l'évesque de Nordwich porter devant lui les armes de l'Eglise, la bannière de St. Pierre, de gueules à deux clefs d'argent en sautoir, comme Gonfanonnier du Pape Urbain.*

A red shield bearing two white crossed keys, and surmounted by the tiara, is to be seen in a window of the cathedral of Bourges accompanying the achievements of the anti-popes Clement VII and Benedict XIII (Fig. 39), and other examples of these tinctures are to be found in manuscripts[4] dating from the time of the former of these anti-popes and from that of Nicholas V, in a series of shields painted on the ceiling formerly in the church of San Simone at Spoleto (*ca.* 1400), in 15th-century glass in the cathedrals of York[5] and of Carpentras, in various 15th-century books of arms both English[6], German[7], and

Fig. 22. Arms of the Papacy. From Martin Schrot, *Wappenbuch*, Munich, 1581.

Italian[8], as well as in Martin Schrot's book of arms (Fig. 22)[9] which is as late as 1581.

Placed above or behind the Pope's personal arms, the white or silver keys are found all through the 15th, and well into the 16th century. The arms of Paul II in the ceiling of the church of San Marco in Rome, those

1 Moroni, XCVI. 125.

2 In the Musée du Louvre. Viel-Castel, *Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint-Esprit au droit désir ou du nœud*, Paris, 1853, pl. VIII.

3 *Les Chroniques de sire Jean Froissard*, ed. Buchon, Paris, 1835, II. 272.

4 Vatican Library MSS: *Vat. lat.* 50, 51 (Clement VII); *Vat. lat.* 171, 195, 198, 447, 498, 501, 540, 541, 658, 1801 (Nicholas V).

5 Purey-Cust, *The Heraldry of York Minster*, Leeds, 1890, 1896, II. pl. 7.

6 Harl. MS 2169, fol. 68, *The Ancestor*, no. 9 (1904), p. 179, and Foster, *Two Tudor Books of Arms*, De Walden Library, s.l.s.d.

7 Innsbruck book of arms (*A.H.S.* 1927, p. 37), Ansbach book of arms (*A.H.S.* 1926, p. 91), St Gall book of arms (*A.H.S.* 1926, p. 80).

8 *Herold*, 1904.

9 *Wappenbuch des Heiligen Römischen Reichs und allgemeiner Christenheit in Europa....Anfangs durch Martin Schrot in Truck geben*, Munich, 1581: "Der Schild roth, die Schlüssel weiss, die Cron blauw und goldfarb abgesetzt, die zweyer Apostel Kleidung wie man wil, auf das schönest." The same woodcut had also appeared in the *first octavo edition of 1576.

of Innocent VIII on frescoes of the Belvedere in the Vatican, most of the achievements of Alexander VI in the Borgia Apartments as well as those of the majority of the Popes from Eugenius IV to Julius II in various manuscripts, chiefly in the Vatican Library[1], will serve as examples. The arms of Julius II in the windows of Santa Maria del Popolo and on the baldrick of the sword[2] presented in 1509 to King Ladislaus II of Hungary and Bohemia also show the shields surmounted by white keys and by white and gold tiaras; so do the arms of Leo X in the Sala dei Pontefici in the Vatican (see Fig. 159) and in a painted glass Adoration of the Magi by Guill. de Marcillac, formerly in the cathedral at Cortona. A very late example are the silver keys embroidered on the baldrick presented by Gregory XIII in 1581 to Archduke Frederick of the Tirol[3].

Fig. 23. *Photo Anderson.* Arms of the Papacy. Cloisters of St John Lateran.

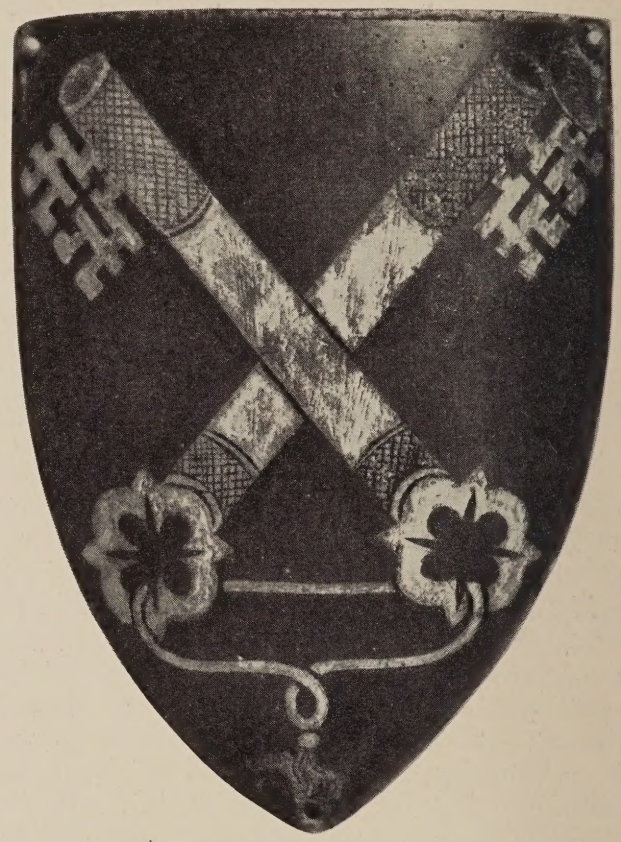


Fig. 24. Enamelled badge. Bargello, Florence.

North of the Alps, the silver keys were still considered the emblem of the Papacy in 1513 when the Swiss Diet decided[4], in view of the imminent expedition into Burgundy, that, the white cross being the distinguishing badge of

1 *Vat. lat.* 227, 676, 1332, Stuttgart book of arms (Eug. IV); missal, Turin Palace Library (Felix V); Ingeram's book of arms, see p. 5, n. 7 (Cal. III); *Vat. lat.* 1816, Innsbruck and Ansbach books of arms, see p. 5, n. 7 (Pius II); *Vat. lat.* 1819 (Paul II); *Vat. lat.* 167, 181, 1608, 2004 (Sixtus IV); *Vat. graec.* 1208 (Inn. VIII); *Vat. lat.* 2260, Rugen's book of arms, see p. 5, n. 7 (Alex. VI); *Vat. lat.* 349, 1835 (Julius II).

2 Modern, "Geweihte Schwerter und Hüte in den kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses," *Jahrbuch der K-h. Sammlungen des a.h. Kaiserhauses*, XXII (1901), 127–168.

3 Modern, *op. cit.*

4 Segesser, "Die eidgenössischen Abschiede...1500 bis 1520," III. 2, p. 731, in Kaiser, *Amtliche Sammlung der älteren eidgenössischen Abschiede*, Leipsic, 1869.

the French as well as of the Swiss, the latter would add white keys to their crosses as being the badge of the Pope. Such silver keys appear on many of the flags borne by the Free Companies, as described by the delightful Basle anonymous author of a chronicle of the Milanese wars[1].

Gold keys tied by a gold cord on a red ground are to be found in frescoes of the time of Gregory XI in the Palazzo Davanzati at Florence; on a 14th-century enamelled shield-shaped badge, possibly a messenger's badge (Fig. 24), in the Bargello; on a keystone in the Duomo, also at Florence; and very occasionally in the manuscripts illuminated for Nicholas V, in the Vatican Library[2]. In the 15th century, gold keys are at times encountered crossed above the shields of the Popes, as in the case of a manuscript[3] of Calixtus III and of a few of the achievements of Alexander VI in the Borgia Apartments.

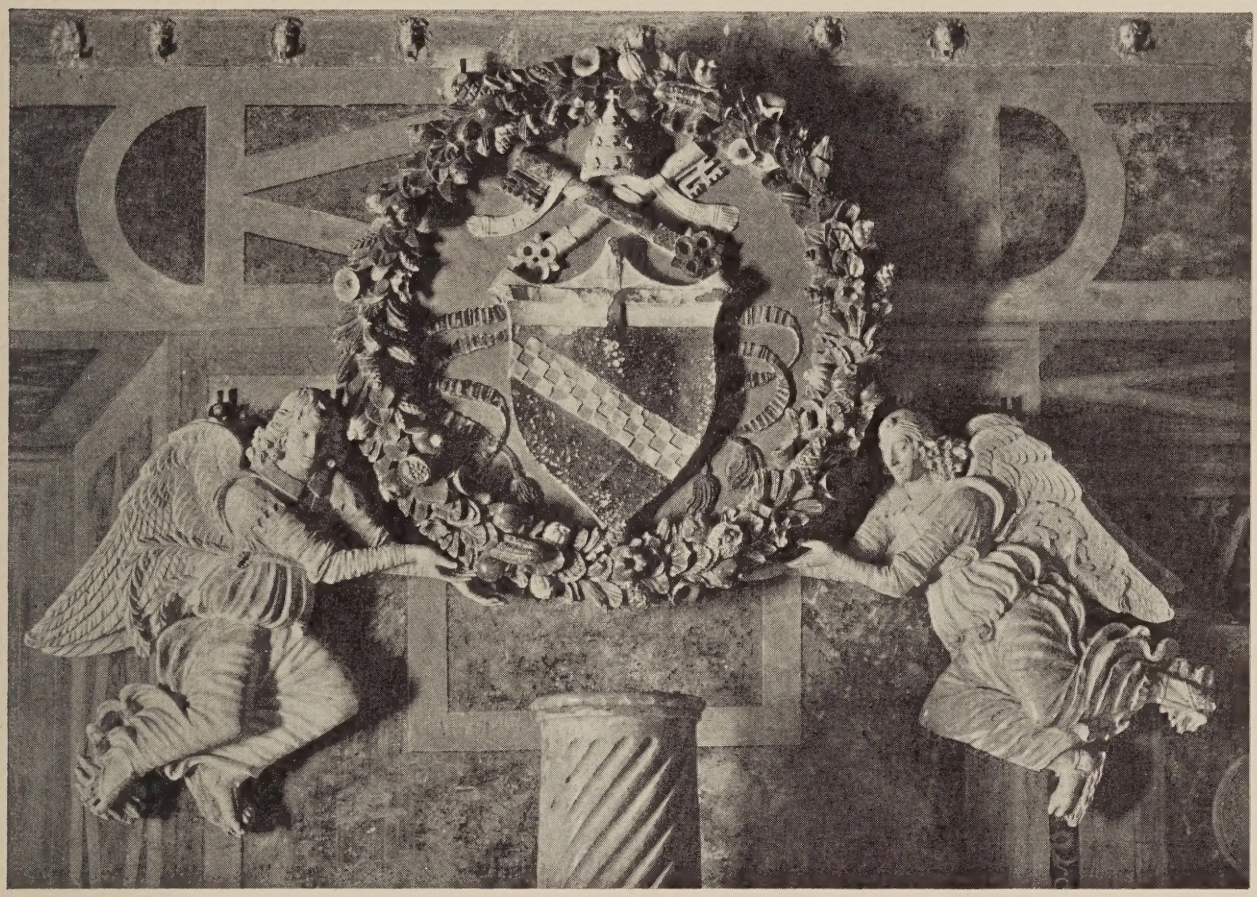


Fig. 25. *Photo Alinari.* Arms of Innocent VIII by Andrea della Robbia. Borgia Apartments.

Other examples of gold keys are some late 15th-century glass with the keys and tiara, both yellow in a red field, in York Minster[4] and a Della Robbia shield of 1509 with the same device in the chief which will be referred to in connection with the *Militia Aurata* (see Fig. 28). The arms of the Comtat Venaissin have regularly been *Gules two crossed keys gold* and those of the city of Avignon show three gold keys fess-wise in a red field. The third key is said to be that of the cardinal-legate,

1 Bernouilli, *Basler Chroniken*, Leipsic, 1902, VI. 49.
2 MS *Vat. lat.* 169, fol. 31.
3 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS no. 361.
4 Purey-Cust, *The Heraldry of York Minster*, Leeds, 1890, 1896, I. frontispiece.

but there seems to be no reason for this attribution; this shield may either be one of the cases where St Peter is provided with three keys, or perhaps, if only two of the keys refer to the Papacy, the third may be that of the city which had already placed a key on its coins in the 13th century. Official documents, such as the indulgences of Alexander VI[1], of Julius II[2] and of Leo X[2], and official presents, such as the scabbard of the abovementioned sword presented to the King of Hungary[3] in 1509, also show the gold keys. The fine mosaic floorings of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries in Roman churches generally show yellow keys above the papal escutcheons, and in the present day the greater part of the achievements of the arms of Pius XI which are placed over the doors of these churches shows the shield of the Pope surmounted by the tiara and two golden keys.

The final development in the tinctures of the papal keys shows a gold key lying in bend over a silver key in bend sinister, although the relative positions are sometimes reversed. In the frescoes of the Hall of the Notaries at Perugia one of the achievements of Calixtus III shows a gold and a silver key, but it has been too drastically restored to be reliable. The choir books with the arms of Pius II in the Museo del Duomo at Pienza would seem to be the earliest certain examples of these tinctures. The stall-plate[4] of Frederick of Urbino as Knight of the Garter (1474) in St George's Chapel at Windsor (Fig. 119), some manuscripts by Giacomo Caporali (1473) in the church of S. Pietro de' Cassinensi at Perugia, and others with the arms of Paul II[5] and Innocent VIII[6] in the Vatican Library, are further early examples. The fine terracotta achievement of the arms of Innocent VIII by Andrea della Robbia (Fig. 25), now in the Borgia Apartments, and the tapestry with the banners of the Church held by lions, in the Galleria degli Arazzi, may also be mentioned. The arms of Pius II painted by Pinturicchio in the famous Piccolomini Library at Siena date from 1502–1509.

The augmentations granted in 1512 by Cardinal Schiner, as legate of Julius II to the Swiss, show what was then considered at the papal court to be the proper tincture of the keys. Of the forty grants of which we have evidence, fourteen contain the papal keys; in five cases they are gold, in one red, in one striped gold, red and gold. In the case of the banner of Coire[7], however, it is distinctly stated that the keys are *ad similitudinem insigniorum Sancte Romane Ecclesie, ita quod altera aurei, altera vero clavium praedictarum argentei coloris existant.* This use of one gold and one silver key appears on another official gift of Julius II, namely on the woven silk baldrick[8] of the sword presented by him to the Swiss in 1511.

In the later Urbino manuscripts in the Vatican Library, such as the Dante (about 1600), and the life of Francesco-Maria della Rovere (after 1605), the keys are regularly gold and silver. From this time on, at any rate where the keys appear in a shield, these tinctures seem to be thoroughly established.

Variations from the use of the red field for the papal arms are rare. On the palace of the Guelph party in Florence, gold keys in an azure field can be seen on a late 14th-century terracotta shield of the Papacy and the same arms are painted on the Palazzo della Signoria. The same tinctures appear in the chief of an achievement of Felix V on a keystone in St Maurice d'Agaune (Fig. 145), and in a glass painting of the papal arms (1579) in the Basle Museum. Silver keys in an azure field were painted on one of the shields[9] hung in the nave of the cathedral of that city in 1473.

1 Musée Jeanne d'Arc at Orléans. 2 Historical Museum at Basle. 3 Modern, *op. cit.*

4 Hope, *The Stallplates of the Knights of the Order of the Garter* 1348–1485, Westminster, 1901, pl. LXXXI.

5 *Vat. lat.* 261. 6 *Vat. lat.* 185.

7 Büchi, *Korrespondenzen und Akten zur Geschichte des Kardinals Matth. Schiner*, Basle, 1920, I. 235.

8 Durrer, "Die Geschenke Papst Julius II an die Eidgenossen," *Historisches Neujahrsblatt Uri*, 1913; and *Wissen und Leben*, I. 193.

9 Copies in Hieronymus Vischer's book of arms (1579) in the State Archives at Basle. The shields were removed in 1701.

If we can say that the keys are used to represent equally St Peter, the Papacy, the Holy See or the Pope, we can also say that as early as the beginning of the 14th century there is evidence of a desire for differentiation.

Above the entrance of the Palazzo Pubblico in Perugia are carved the arms of Perugia and of her allies in the Guelph cause. In the centre are the arms of the King of Naples, and next to them, between the griffin of Perugia and the lily of Florence, are the keys of the Papacy with a small escutcheon of Anjou in the chief (Fig. 26), evidently an attempt to represent the Papacy as a political

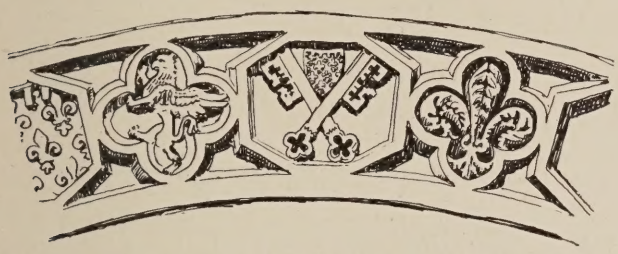


Fig. 26. Arms from the entrance of the Palazzo Pubblico, Perugia.

entity such as was achieved two centuries later by the invention of the arms of the Papal States.

As early as 1350, on the base of a statue of St Peter above the door of the baptistery at Pistoja, the crossed keys appear as what might be called the personal arms of the saint. In the 15th century, his arms, or rather the arms of the churches dedicated to him, also begin to show a differentiation from those of the Holy See. As has been pointed out above, the church of St Peter in Rome takes over the parallel keys, while in 1473 the Benedictine Monastery of San Pietro de' Cassinensi at Perugia bears *Azure, two crossed keys, one gold, one silver* and, also in the 15th century, the church of St Peter of Castelfranco in Tuscany assumes the keys accompanied by three crosses. The 16th- and 17th-century authors have generally attributed to St Peter a shield with two upright keys and a small cross in the chief.

In the early years of the 14th century[1] the Popes began to create with special ceremonies Knights of the Golden Spur, *milites aurati, milites Sancti Petri.* Gilt spurs, a gold collar or a sword[2] were given to the knights together with a pair of crossed keys in the

Fig. 27. Tombstone of J. B. Camerti. 1566. Grotte Vaticane.

form of a hat-badge[3]. The same badge was also placed by the recipient in the chief of his shield, and such shields are to be seen in different places, particularly on stone reliefs at Florence, in the Bargello, in the Villa Stibbert and in Sta Maria Novella.

From the 15th century onward the ambassadors of the Italian republics were regularly made *milites aurati* at the end of their stay in Rome[4] (in the case of the Venetian ambassadors until the end of the Republic), and from the 16th century onward the knights were generally made counts palatine of the Lateran[5] at the same time. In a few cases

1 The ritual of the *Benedictio novi militis* first appears in the Pontifical of Durandus (+ 1333). Modern, *op. cit.* p. 130.

2 1405—*pro uno ense garnito de argento deaurato et serico . . .pro dn. Petro Garcesii milite novo*—Müntz in *R.A.C.* 1889, p. 410.

3 1454, 30 May—*uno paro di ciavi* (sic) *d'oro poste per formaglio si dono N.S. a uno cavaliere genoese*;—*formaglio con le chiave . . .per donare a misser da Fiescho di Genoa*—Müntz XV, IV. 177.

4 Paris de Grassis complains that in 1507 Master Dominico, orator of Siena, having been made a *miles S. Petri auratus*, left *fraudulenter* without paying his fees. "Diarium Paris de Grassis," ed. Doellinger, *Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Culturgeschichte*, III, Vienna, 1882, p. 383.

5 Tombstone of J. B. Camerti (1566), *Eques S. Petri comes Palatinus* in the Grotte Vaticane (Fig. 27).

the badge of the keys was replaced by one showing the tiara above the keys[1], which,

Fig. 28. Arms of Giovanni di Lapo Niccolini. 1509. San Giovanni Valdarno.

instead of being placed in the shield, was also occasionally placed beside the shield, after the fashion common for the display of other badges or collars of Orders, such as the Order of the Dragon of Hungary, of the Vase of Aragon (Fig. 29)[2], or the collar of SS. of Lancaster.

At times the badge of the *Militia Aurata* became an integral part of the family coat, as is

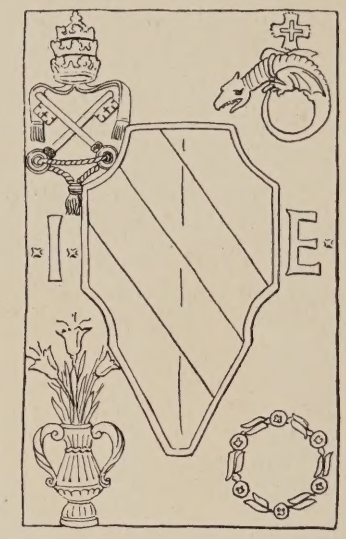


Fig. 29. Tombstone of Giovanni Emo. 1483. Museum, Treviso.

exemplified by the arms of Filippo, Marquess Niccolini (1664), in the church of Sta Croce at Florence.

1 See a 15th-century sculptured Ridolfi shield in the courtyard of the Palazzo Pretorio at Pistoja, and a fine fayence plaque in the Palazzo Pretorio at San Giovanni Valdarno showing the arms of Giovanni di Lapo Niccolini, 1509 (Marquand, *Robbia Heraldry*, Princeton and London, 1919, p. 176); keys and tiara are both gold (Fig. 28).

2 Tombstone of Giovanni Emo (+ 1483) in the museum at Treviso. *Riv. Ar.* 1914, p. 238. The fourth decoration seems to be the collar of the French *ordre du genet*.

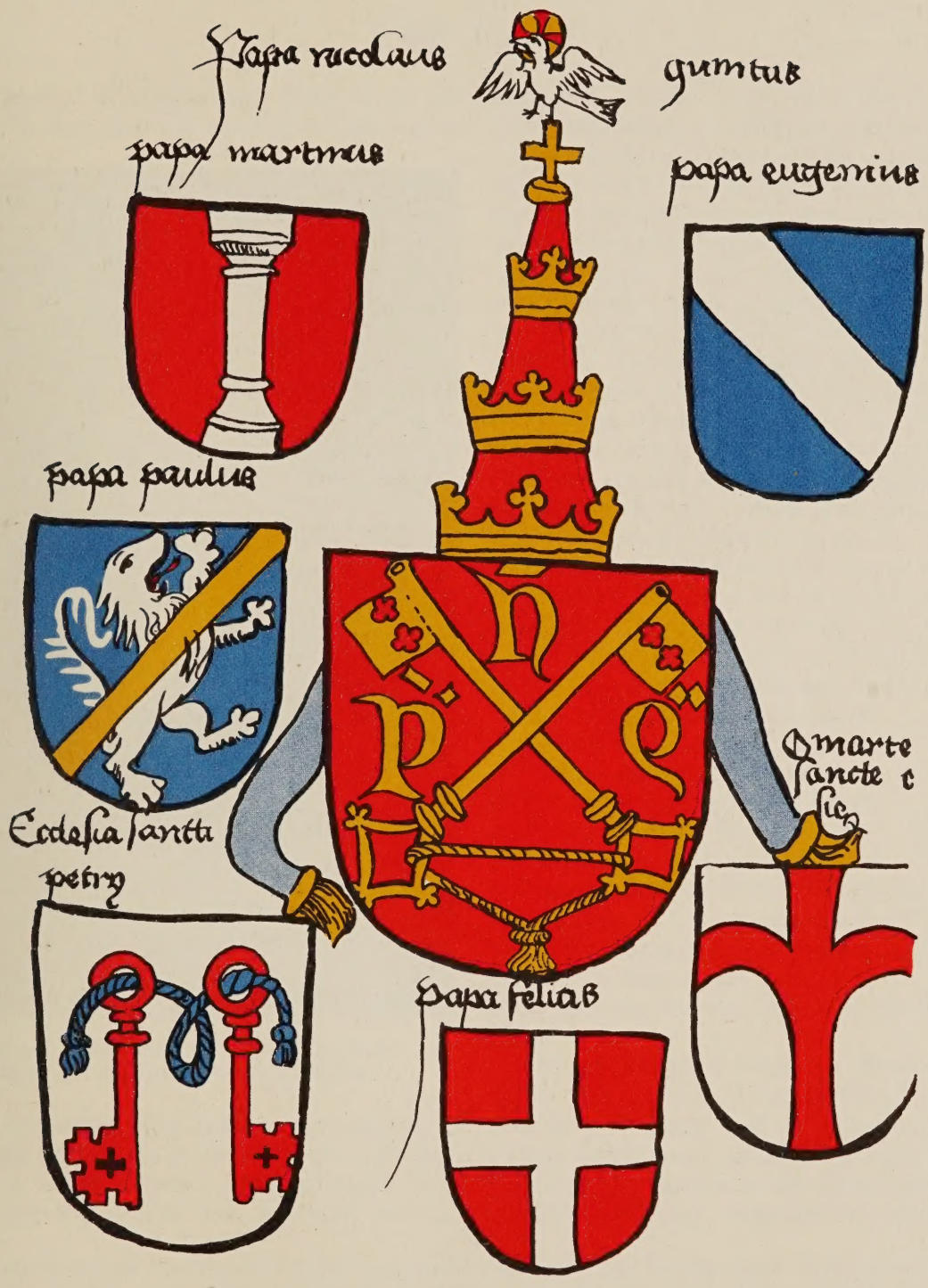


Plate II. Papal arms from the Grünwald book of arms. About 1470.

CHAPTER III

THE TIARA

THE second characteristic emblem of the Papacy is the tiara[1], a head-dress having no sacral character, but solely the ensign of sovereign power. It is derived from the *camelaucum*, a white pointed cap of eastern, probably Syrian, origin and it must not be confused with the mitre which the Pope wears when officiating in religious ceremonies.

Fig. 30. *Cliché Archives Photographiques Paris.* Head of a Pope from Rheims Cathedral.

During the 11th century the *camelaucum* developed both into the papal tiara which kept the old pointed shape, and into the mitre which changed slowly into the familiar two-horned form. In the 12th century the tiara was provided with a decorative circlet and two pendent fillets at the base, and sometimes with an oblong or round gem at the top. The addition of the circlet may very possibly have been due to a desire to distinguish the papal head-dress from the mitre, by this time the regular liturgical prerogative of the bishops, although abbots and canons were not infrequently allowed to use it.

The sugar-loaf form of the cap, with a plain or jewelled circlet at the brim (*circulus*), and occasionally a similar vertical strip (*titulus*) in front (Fig. 30), continued until the beginning of the 14th century, although in the 13th the circlet was sometimes scalloped into the form of a coronet, soon to become an ornamental crown of the usual type worn by kings and princes of the time. A very early example of this crown is to be seen in Matthew Paris' *History of Offa* (Fig. 31), where the tiara of foolscap shape, tipped with a cross on a very small ball, rises from a crown exactly similar to that worn by kings[2].

Fig. 31. Tiara from Matthew Paris, *History of Offa.*

Though Giotto's fresco of Boniface VIII shows one, a cross is rarely found crowning the tiara, a plain ball or one composed of foliage being more usual. It should be noted however that artists of all times have drawn liberally on their imagination when repre-

1 For the origin and development of the tiara see Müntz, "La Tiare Pontificale du VIIIe au XVIe siècle," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris, xxxvi. 1898; Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, Freiburg i.B. 1907; and Egerton Beck, "The mitre and tiara in heraldry and ornament," *The Burlington Magazine*, Sept. 1913, pp. 350 ff.

2 *The Ancestor*, no. 5 (1903), 134.

senting the tiara, which only very few of them knew otherwise than by hearsay, but it must be insisted upon that the most authentic representations during the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries show the cap to be a plaited one, apparently of some sort of basket-work.

The colour of the tiara was probably always white, but this has not deterred various artists from rendering it otherwise. For instance, in his *Historia Minor*, Matthew Paris, or whoever was the illustrator of his works,

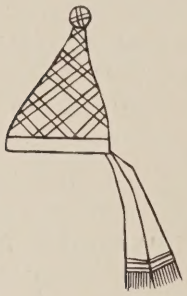


Fig. 32. Tiara from a fresco in Pernes (Vaucluse).

Fig. 33. Tiara from MS *Vat. lat.* 374.

paints the tiara of Honorius III in longitudinal sections of white and green; the register of Innocent III, dating from the beginning of the 13th century, shows the Pope wearing a tiara tipped with a large ball and edged with a red band rising into four points, somewhat resembling a mural crown[1]; a fresco at Pernes (dept. Vaucluse) of about 1265 shows Clement IV wearing a yellow tiara with a red edging and red fillets (Fig. 32)[2]; on the same Pope's monument in the church of San Francesco at Viterbo, the tiara shows a perpendicular band (*titulus*) of red mosaic meeting a circular one (*circulus*) at the base, a form of decoration repeated on the tiara of Clement V in the Balduineum[3], where the tiara is red and the embroidered bands gold; a Flemish MS of the end of the 14th century has even a blue tiara strewn with gold fleurs-de-lis and tipped with a small cross[4]; St Gregory's tiara in the frescoes of the chapel of the SS. Corporale at Orvieto (1357–64) is red with a white edging; in the Book of the Council of Constance the tiaras are blue, red, violet or white; a blue tiara appears in a letter of indulgence of Julius II in the Basle Museum, and again as late as 1581 in Martin Schrot's book of arms. A few examples[5] of the 15th century show the tiara surmounted by the dove of the Holy Ghost (Fig. 33).

The fillets were either white or black, but the latter seems to have been the favourite colour until the end of the 15th century. They are generally fringed at the ends and show a variable number of small decorative crosses, usually gold. Red, blue or green fillets are examples of artistic licence.

The next change in the tiara, after the transformation into a coronet of the decorative band at its base, was the addition of a second similar band or coronet. The first writer to mention such a development is that highly unscrupulous historian, Benzo of Alba[6]. He accused *Prandellus* (Hildebrand) of crowning Nicholas II with a regal crown bearing on the lower circlet the words—CORONA REGNI DE MANU DEI—and on the upper one—DIADEMA EJUSDEM IMPERII DE MANU PETRI. Benzo's reputation is such as to discredit anything he relates to the disadvantage of Gregory VII, but the interest of his statement lies in the fact that a tiara with two circlets was imaginable in his day. In a life of Gregory IX, written before his death in 1241, that Pope is once spoken of as *duplici diademate coronatus*[7], but

1 *A.P.C.* 1899, p. 66, after *Pitra, *Analecta Novissima, Spicilegii Solesmensis altera continuatio*, Rome, 1885, I.

2 Viollet-le-Duc's drawing, reproduced in his *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français* (Paris, 1872–75, IV. 400), and in *The Burlington Magazine*, 1913, p. 330, was completely misunderstood by Stroehl (*Wappenrolle der Päpste*, München-Gladbach, 1909, pl. III, and "Die Würdezeichen der katholischen Geistlichkeit," *Deutscher Buch und Steindrucker*, XVII (1911), p. 1053).

3 Irmer, *Die Romfahrt Kaiser Heinrichs VII, im Bildercyclus des codex Balduini Trevirensis*, Berlin, 1881, pl. I.

4 *R.A.C.* 1892, p. 75.

5 MS *Vat. lat.* 374 (Fig. 33), MS 8769 of the Vienna State Library, Grünwald's book of arms (Nicholas V), Ingeram's book of arms (Calixtus III), St Gall book of arms (Paul II), Rugen's book of arms (Alex. VI). See Pls. II, III, V, VI and Fig. 122.

6 Braun, *op. cit.* 503, n. 1.

7 Mann, XIII. 205, n. 4.

Fig. 34. *Photo Anderson.* Boniface VIII. St John Lateran. The mosaic shields show the arms of Boniface IX.

no representation of a double-crowned tiara is known until the time of Boniface VIII.

There are in existence eight statues of Boniface VIII, and on the five dating from the earlier part of his reign, as well as on the fresco by Giotto in the Lateran, he is shown wearing a tiara with but one circlet. An inventory of his treasures from the year 1295 mentions only one tiara, which was decorated with a single circlet and tipped with a large ruby. As this ruby, owing to its size, attracted general attention at the time, it enables us to identify the tiara in subsequent accounts.

The appearance of the double-crowned tiara is definitely shown in the latter part of Boniface's pontificate. The three statues dating from the end of his reign (the bust and the recumbent statue in the Grotte Vaticane and the kneeling statue[1] in the Lateran) all show the same tiara bound at the edge by a band set with lozenges of pearls from which rises a jewelled band set with fleurons, while half way up is a narrower jewelled band also provided with fleurons and connected with the top and bottom by narrow straps (Fig. 34). In an inventory of 1315–16 this tiara appears again, identified by the famous ruby, which is specially mentioned as missing, for, during the procession after the coronation of Clement V in Lyons, it had been lost when a wall collapsed killing a number of the participants. The tiara is then described as having three circlets, *corona quae vocatur regnum cum tribus circulis aureis*; it had therefore, between 1295 and 1315, been subjected to two successive refashionings and had gained an additional circlet each time.

The peregrinations of this tiara are worth following. Benedict XI took it with him to Perugia, and it was taken from there to Lyons for the coronation of Clement V, with the disastrous result mentioned above. It then stayed at Avignon until Gregory XI carried it back to Rome; with the anti-pope Clement VII it returned to Avignon, was taken to Spain by the anti-pope Benedict XIII, and finally brought back from Peñiscola to Rome in 1429. After that, it was no longer used, but was placed among the relics, as it was thought to be the tiara of Pope St Sylvester; in 1485 it was stolen and all further trace of it is lost.

The triple-crowned tiara did not immediately displace the older type, for on his monument in Perugia Benedict XI wears the plaited tiara with but one coronet. Of Clement V and John XXII no contemporary statues remain, but a drawing of the latter Pope's tomb shows him wearing a tiara with two coronets (Fig. 35). A statue of Benedict XII in the Grotte Vaticane wears a tiara with two crowns somewhat resembling the later one of Boniface VIII, but on his tomb in Avignon his triple-crowned tiara shows the ultimate form, and from this time onward there are but slight variations to be noted in the shape of the crowns or in the outline of the cap. The recumbent statue of Urban VI on his tomb in the Grotte Vaticane wears, it is true, a single-crowned tiara, but this figure seems to have been taken from an earlier monument, and the tiaras above the shields on the sarcophagus show the three coronets (Fig. 138)[2].

Fig. 35. Tiara from the tomb of John XXII. After Müntz, *La Tiare Pontificale du VIIIe au XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1898.

From this time on, the tiara became more and more rounded until in the 17th century it reached the unfortunate bulbous shape which it kept until the 19th century. From the 17th century onward, it is regularly tipped with a cross surmounting a ball representing the earth, while the fillets are white embroidered with the Pope's arms, and lined with red.

1 This statue, placed against a slab with mosaic shields of Boniface IX's arms, is frequently said to represent Nicholas IV, but was certainly made for Boniface VIII. Braun, *op. cit.* 503, n. 1.

2 A curious reappearance of the single-crowned tiara is to be seen on a woodcut of a printed bull of indulgence for Treves, 1515. The badge of the Church, the keys surmounted by a single-crowned tiara, balances the arms of Leo X, whose shield is crowned by the usual triple tiara. Catalogue 70, *Newe Zeitungen*, J. Halle, Munich, 1929, p. 31.

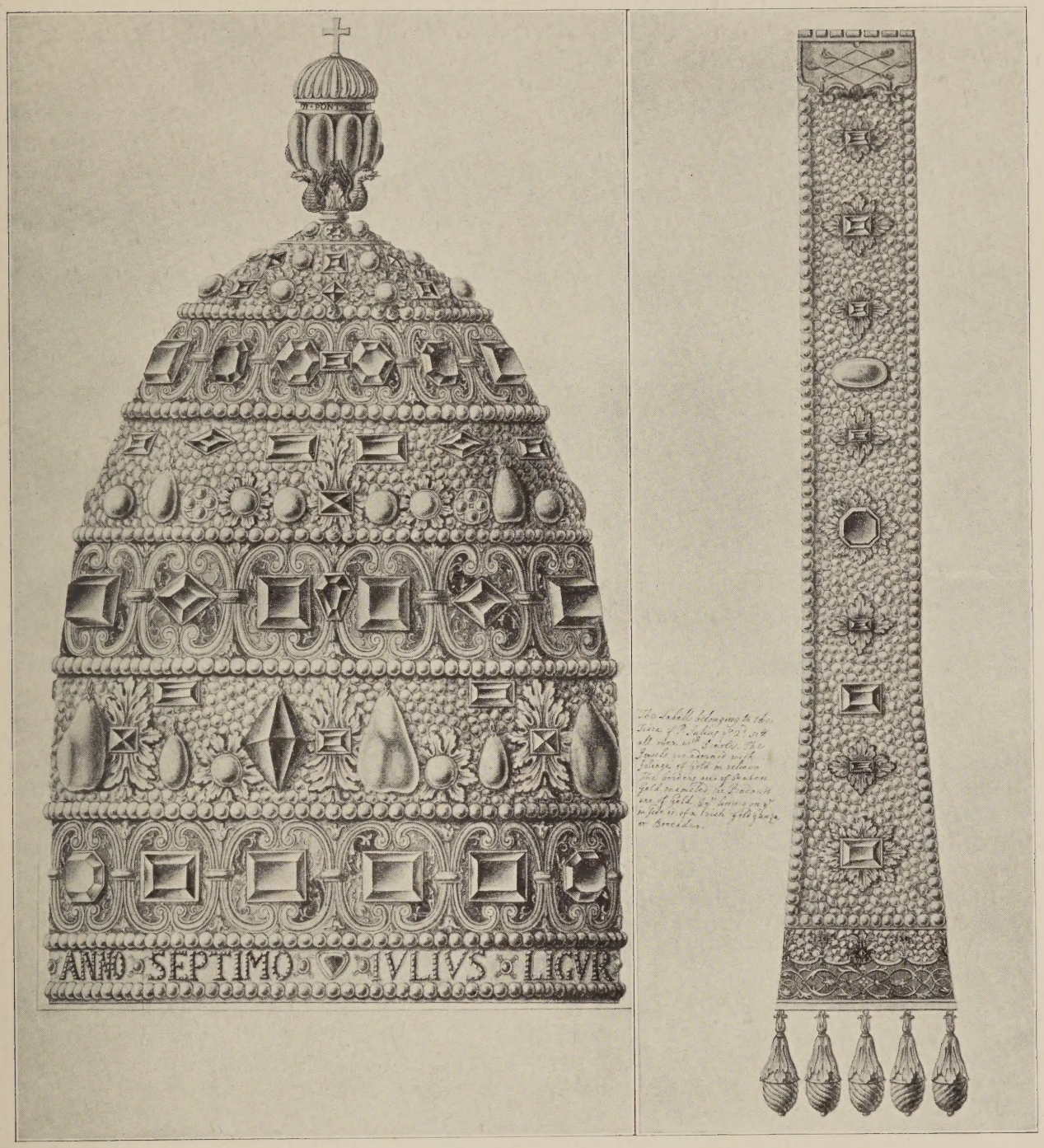


Fig. 36. Tiara of Julius II by Caradosso. Watercolour by Bertoni. British Museum. The knob, upheld by demi-dragons, was added by Gregory XIII (Boncompagni).

The most marked deviation from the usual design is to be seen in the tiara made by Caradosso for Julius II at the cost of 200,000 ducats which Müntz considered to be the equivalent of 400,000 pounds sterling. In this tiara the three crowns were replaced by ornamental circlets differing merely in design from the intermediate spaces (Fig. 36). At the

edge, an inscription in diamonds indicated as the date of manufacture the seventh year of Julius II's pontificate[1]. Owing to the fortunate chance of its having been pawned, this tiara escaped the fate of those made for Paul II and Sixtus IV, which Benvenuto Cellini broke up for Clement VII during the sack of Rome. The same fate however overtook the Julian tiara in 1797 when, together with those made for Paul III, Clement VIII and Urban VIII, it was broken up to pay the contributions imposed on the Papacy by Napoleon in the treaty of Tolentino.

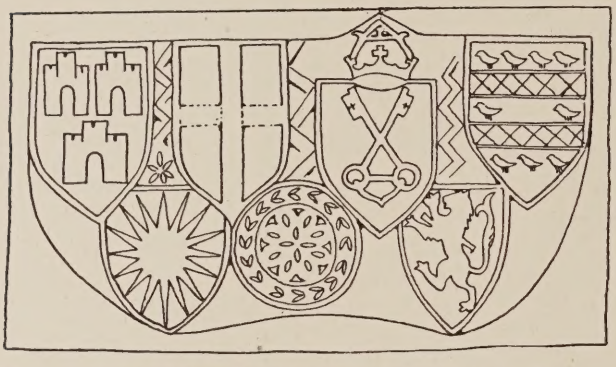


Fig. 37. Arms of Heredia, the Order of St John, the Papacy, Alamagna, Baux and Aubert (?). From *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVII.

There are now eight tiaras in existence: a simple and comparatively light one made for Gregory XIII and altered by Pius IX; one given by Napoleon to Pius VII containing a large emerald which Gregory XIII had added to Julius' tiara and which the Emperor then restored to its original use; one presented to Pius VII by the city of Lyons in 1821; one, set all over with diamonds, given by Queen Isabella II of Spain to Pius IX; three presented to Leo XIII, one by the diocese of Paris, one by the Belgian dioceses in 1871, and a third one, a gold tiara presented to the Pope on the 25th anniversary of his election; and finally the tiara presented to Pius XI by the city of Milan in 1922.

Of late not only do the graphic representations of the tiara return to the more graceful earlier form, but this is also the case with the tiaras presented to Leo XIII and to Pius XI.

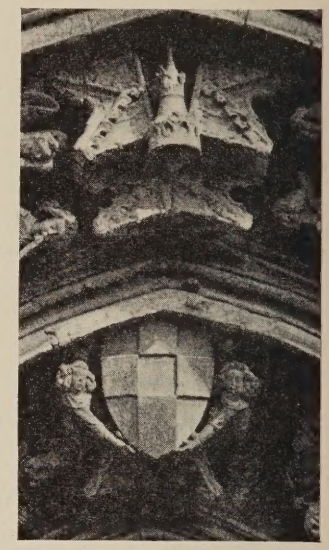


Fig. 38. Arms of Clement VII from the cathedral of Vienne.

As an independent emblem of the Papacy, the tiara first appears on a 13th-century marble fragment in the abbey of Grottaferrata, and on a mosaic slab of the time of Boniface VIII at Anagni (Fig. 47). In both cases it shows but one circlet, and it is this same type which, in the reign of John XXII, first appears crowning the personal shield of a Pope[2]. John's successors use it in the same way, and in 1353 it is found combined with the crossed keys above the shield of Innocent VI[3]. The ultimate triple-crowned form crowns the shield of Clement VI above the Palace gateway at Avignon (Fig. 40), a curious shield of Innocent VI on a carved stone formerly at Smyrna castle[4] (Fig. 21), and the shields with the crossed keys on the reliquaries[5] of the heads of SS. Peter and Paul in the Lateran (1366). Occasionally, as on another stone from Smyrna (Fig. 37), and above the portal of the cathedral of Vienne (Fig. 38), the artist seems to have carved a tiara with

1 Müntz's illustration of this tiara and nearly all subsequent ones are reproductions of an engraving by Vertue after a watercolour drawing made by Fr. Bertoni for an English collector, John Talman, the original of which is now in the British Museum. Vertue's engraving was incorrect in so far as it gave cords and tassels to the tiara in place of the usual fillets which are to be seen in Talman's volume. Thurston, "Two lost masterpieces of the Goldsmith's Art," *The Burlington Magazine*, Oct. 1905, p. 37.

2 On the outside of the chapel of John XXII and his nephew Cardinal de Via in the cathedral at Avignon (Fig. 133).

3 On the monument of Bishop Malabaila at Asti; see below.

4 Hasluck, *op. cit.*

5 Müntz, *op. cit.* p. 264.

but two crowns. These are probably careless developments of that type of the 14th-century tiara, where the uppermost crown is very small and set almost at the top of the cap.

Achievements of the arms of the Papacy consisting of the combination of the shield with the keys crowned by the tiara as a "timbre" are also found on reliefs in the Rocca at Spoleto (*t.* Urban V), in a Bible[1] of the time of the anti-pope Clement VII

Fig. 39. Arms of the Church. Window of Bourges Cathedral.

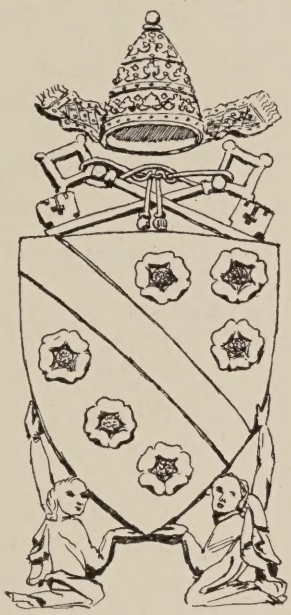


Fig. 40. Arms of Clement VI from the Palace gateway at Avignon. 1348.

(Fig. 81), in windows (Fig. 39) of the cathedral of Bourges (1378–1410), frequently under Nicholas V, and on coins[2] of Julius II (Fig. 59), and of his successors until Clement VII[3].

The first appearance of the well-known combination of the tiara above the crossed keys is to be found as a "timbre" above the shield of Clement VI on the Palace gateway at Avignon, which was finished in 1348. Five years later, on the monument[4] of Bishop Baldracco Malabaila in the cathedral of Asti (Fig. 41) we find the arms of the reigning Pope, Innocent VI, and those of his predecessor Clement VI (+1352). The shield of the former is surmounted by the crossed keys, above which is placed a single-crowned tiara, and the same double device occupies a very broad chief added to the family coat in the shield of Clement VI.

Fig. 41. Arms of Innocent VI and Clement VI from the monument of Bishop Baldracco Malabaila. 1353. Asti Cathedral.

It may be stated here that there appear to be three stages in the development of the various arms of the Church. At first the charges appear used without a shield, as a badge or a "timbre"; then they are marshalled in a shield with other arms; and finally they achieve independent existence in a shield of their own.

The earliest example of a shield of the Papacy showing the tiara with the crossed keys seems to be on the base of the statue of Martin V in the cathedral of Milan, although the seal of Robert Waldby, archbishop of York (1396–98), for the regality of Hexham[5], shows

Fig. 42. Seal of Robert Waldby, archbishop of York, for the regality of Hexham. 1396–98. (1/1.)

as the arms of the diocese of York, i.e. of St Peter, a shield with two crossed keys and a single-crowned tiara above them (Fig. 42).

The principal use of the combined tiara and keys has always been as a "timbre" above the personal shield of the Pope, but in the 15th century this device displaced the older one of

1 MS *Vat. lat.* 51.
2 Ser. I. xxvii. 23, 24.
3 Ser. II. lxiii. 10–17.
4 *Riv. Ar.* 1924, p. 53.
5 Birch, 2327.

the crossed keys alone, first as a badge and finally as the arms of the Papacy.

A coin[1] of Innocent VI shows the keys, crossed, tied, and surmounted by a very small tiara, and the device appears in a wreath, but not in a shield, on the carved wooden doors of Old St Peter's, together with the shield of Eugenius IV[2]. A badge-like use of the device is also made on the blade and scabbard of the sword, still in the family's possession, which was presented by Nicholas V in 1454 to Ludovico Bentivoglio of Bologna[3], as well as on the dalmatic and cushion of that Pope's effigy in the Grotte Vaticane. Pius II owned a baldaquin[4] of red brocade, *cum clavibus et mitra*, Sixtus IV had an embroidered hanging[5] made of white brocade *cum clavibus et mitris*, and the same device appears also on the pale of augmentation borne by the Montefeltri as Gonfaloniers of the Church since 1465 (Fig. 119). In 1512, Cardinal Schiner, legate of Julius II, granted to the town of Elgg in Switzerland two crossed keys surmounted by the tiara all of gold, to be borne together with a vernicle in the town banner; the original is still in existence and is deposited in the Swiss National Museum and it can also be seen there in a fine stained-glass panel of about 1515.

Fig. 43. Arms of Nicholas V from MS *Vat. lat.* 385.

Shields or banners with the tiara and keys are not very numerous. A fresco of a battle-scene by Giovanni di Cristoforo and Francesco d'Andrea in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena (15th century) shows a red banner with the white keys and a white tiara. Besides the shield of the time of Martin V in Milan Cathedral which we have mentioned above, we may notice a 15th-century keystone in the church of Clermont l'Hérault where the field is azure, the keys gold and the tiara white with gold crowns, as well as a shield in a MS[6] of Nicholas V with a red field and all the charges silver (Fig. 43), and a glass shield in York Minster where the field is red, as usual,

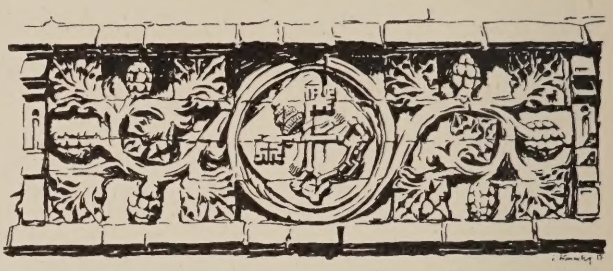


Fig. 44. Brick frieze from the old town-hall, Hanover.

but the charges yellow[7]. On a late 15th-century brick frieze on the old town-hall of Hanover the device is carved on a shield representing the Pope (Fig. 44), which balances one of the Emperor. It is also found with a red field and white charges in an Italian book of arms[8] of the same period, and in Stumpff's Chronicle[9] which attributes it to the *Babstthum* (Fig. 45). One of the tapestries designed by Raphael for Leo X, now placed behind the Pope's throne in the Sala del Concistorio, shows the standards of the Church with a gold and a silver key surmounted by the tiara and held by two lions; a similar banner is shown in an engraving[10] of Swiss halberdiers by Pérac (1548–49).

The 15th century may roughly be taken to be the period when the tiara and keys definitely constitute the arms of the Popes, of the Church and of the papal possessions,

1 Ser. I. xi. 17.

2 Description of the doors by Grimaldi (*t.* Paul V): *Supra sunt gentilicia insignia Eug. IV a dextris et Camerae Apostolicae a sinistris*—Müntz XV, IV. 43. The attribution of the arms to the Apostolic Chamber is worth noting. These doors are frequently, but erroneously, stated to have been of bronze.

3 Modern, *op. cit.*

4 Müntz XV, IV. 225.

5 *Ibid.* XXVIII. 266, 267.

6 *Vat. lat.* 385.

7 Purey-Cust, *The Heraldry of York Minster*, Leeds, 1890, 1896, I. frontispiece.

8 *Herold*, 1904.

9 *Gemeiner loblicher Eydgnoschaft Stetten, Landen und Völckeren Chronickwirdiger Thatenbeschreybung... Durch Johann Stumpffen*, Zurich, 1548.

10 Repond, *Le Costume de la Garde Suisse Pontificale et la Renaissance Italienne*, Rome, 1917, pl. XXV.

though the keys of St Peter alone still remain in use. From the 16th century on, this, the third coat of the Papacy—which may be blazoned *Gules a pair of keys crossed in saltire, one gold, one silver, tied gold, surmounted by a tiara silver, crowned gold*—is taken to represent the Papacy as distinct from the Papal States.

The tiara and keys have always been used more frequently as a badge[1] than in a shield. This device is still in general use in the papal administration and household, as for instance on the seals of the papal majordomo and of several of the Congregations, as well as on the

Fig. 45. Arms of the Papacy from Stumpff's Chronicle. Zurich, 1548.

Fig. 46. Seal of the court of appeals of the Comtat Venaissin. 1344–53. (1/1.)

stamps of the Vatican Library. It also appears on the papal postage stamps and, placed in a shield, now forms the arms of the Città del Vaticano.

Besides the Popes, some other persons are also entitled to the use of the tiara, heraldically or otherwise.

Of this practice, the best known case is that of the archbishops of Benevento who had continued the use of the original pointed head-dress as it had existed before the differentiation into tiara and mitre, an example of which may still be seen on the mid-twelfth-century bronze door of their cathedral. In 1374, Archbishop Ugo Guirardi writes[2]: *Nos, pro nostra ecclesia Beneventana, regno sive thiara, ad modum Summi Pontificis, utimur quod hic camaurum vocatur.* Although the wearing of a triple-crowned tiara was forbidden[3] to the archbishops by Paul II in 1466, the use of the original single-crowned tiara continued until at least as late as the episcopate of Archbishop Massimiliano Palombara[4] (1574–1607); its heraldic use does not seem to have been opposed by the Popes.

Another heraldic use of the tiara is exemplified by the seal of the court of appeals of the Comtat Venaissin (Fig. 46), of which the matrix is now in the museum of the Palais de St Pierre in Lyons[5]. The Comtat Venaissin had been ceded by the Count of Toulouse to the Popes in 1229, and a second time by the King of France in 1274[6], while Avignon belonged to the house of Anjou until the Holy See acquired it in 1348. The Comtat was administered by a rector residing at Carpentras, who during the Avignon period was generally a relative of the Pope. The seal in question is that of Hugues de la Roche, a nephew by marriage[7] of Clement VI, marshal of the Roman Curia and rector of the Comtat from the 19th of September 1344 until 1353. He was a member of the house of La Roche-Canillac (Corrèze) who bore *Barry wavy* (*gules and gold*), of six or eight pieces, and the seal shows a shield *Barry wavy of six* with a chief of the Pope's arms, a bend between six roses, which is surmounted by a small plain tiara and is flanked by two pairs of keys. It is impossible to say whether other rectors of the Comtat made use of the tiara in the same way.

At the instance of King John of Portugal, Clement XI by his bull "IN SUPREMO" (22nd October 1716) formed a new archbishopric at Lisbon with the title of a minor patriarchate to which the old archbishopric

1 For the use as a badge of the *Militia Aurata* see p. 16.

2 Braun, *op. cit.* p. 294 n.

3 Ciacconius, *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum*, Rome, 1677, II. 1081.

4 Müntz, *op. cit.* p. 238. It is remarkable that the compiler of an inventory of 1411 says of this *camaurum, utitur prelatus in officio exercendo* (Moroni, VI. 310), while the tiara is not worn by the Pope when officiating.

5 I am indebted to M. J. Girard, conservator of the Musée Calvet at Avignon, for his kind assistance in the identification of this seal.

6 Mann, XV. 386.

7 His wife was Delphine, daughter of the Pope's brother Guillaume. Baluzius, ed. Mollat, *op. cit.* II. p. 351, and App. III; Demay, *Clair.* 7785.

was soon united *de facto* and in 1740 *de jure*. Owing to the extraordinary rights connected with this see, which in the mind of the king was to become a sort of Western Rome, and possibly in imitation of the practice of the Archbishop of Benevento, the Patriarchs of Lisbon ensigned their arms with a papal tiara (*triregnum*), though not with the keys. This use, without having been either confirmed or opposed by the Holy See, has continued and developed into a customary right still exercised to-day.

Several of the seals of the 15th-century Indulgences show the tiara above the crossed keys, and at the bottom the arms of the commissary of the Indulgence. Thus the circular seal of Rudolph, Count of Werdenberg, knight of St John, commander of Freiburg, and commissary of the Indulgence for the defence of Rhodes (1481), has the tiara and keys apparently crowning the two shields which are set below them, and which contain the cross of the Order of St John and the church-banner of Werdenberg[1]. For other cases of such "pseudo-timbres" see the next chapter, pp. 32–34.

Why Viollet-le-Duc should have placed a triple tiara above a shield of France modern supported by two lions, on a mantelpiece in the museum at Cluny, seems incomprehensible.

It may be as well to mention here the different "timbres" used with the shields of the Papacy. Since the middle of the 14th century the shield with the crossed keys is surmounted by the tiara (see p. 23). Occasionally, in the first half of the 15th century, we find the pavilion used in this way (see p. 30). Still more rare is the use of the processional cross. A glass panel[2] dating from the year 1581 shows a red shield with a pair of white keys surmounted by the tiara and with two processional crosses crossed behind the shield. One of the crosses has three crossbars, the other two. The arrangement is evidently the result of an attempt to balance the two swords crossed behind the shield of the Emperor, which appears on the other side of the panel. In a somewhat similar way Schrot's book of arms (1581) shows a processional cross and a sword crossed behind the shield with the keys (Fig. 22). In the Reichenau chronicle of Gallus Oheim two arms come out from behind the shield holding, one, the pastoral staff, and the other, the staff of jurisdiction, which refer to the arms of the abbey depicted below, and are intended to emphasise its depending immediately from the Holy See, *nullo mediante* (Fig. 71).

1 *Katalog 50. Interessante alte Bücher*, V. A. Heck, Vienna, 1929, no. 1.
2 In the Historical Museum of St Gall. See Egli, *Die Glasgemälde des histor. Museums in St. Gallen*, St Gall, 1927.

CHAPTER IV

THE PAVILION

THE third emblem of the Papacy is the curious umbrella-shaped pavilion, the *padiglione* or *ombrellino*, *S. Conopoeum*, which in combination with the crossed keys is considered to represent the temporal power of the Church.

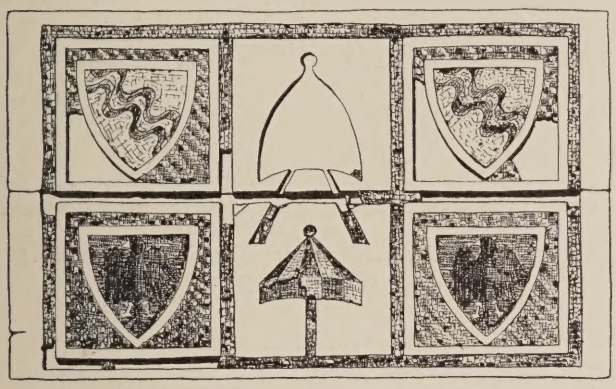


Fig. 47. Arms of Boniface VIII and of his mother. Marble slab with mosaic inlay. Anagni Cathedral.

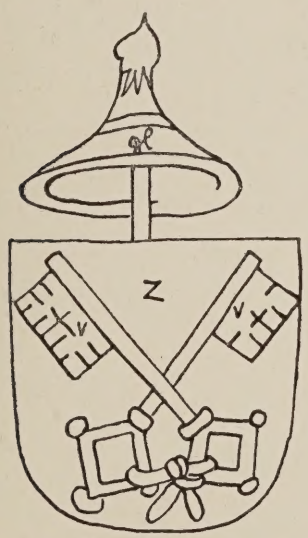


Fig. 48. Arms of the Church. Conrad Schnitt's book of arms.

Originally merely a large sunshade striped red and yellow, it appears as such in the 12th-century frescoes of the Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome (Fig. 50). During the next centuries, the rounded shape apparent in the earliest representations of the *ombrellino* goes through various transformations. A mosaic of the time of Boniface VIII at Anagni shows, together with four shields, a tiara and an *ombrellino*, which has lost its rounded form and has become pointed like a half-opened umbrella (Fig. 47). Similarly-shaped ones can be seen in the portico of Santa Maria Maggiore (1300), and in the 14th-century frescoes in the chapel of the SS. Corporale at Orvieto.

Fig. 49. Ombrellino from the Book of the Council of Constance.

Fig. 50. *Photo Alinari.* The Emperor leading the Pope's palfrey. Fresco, SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome.

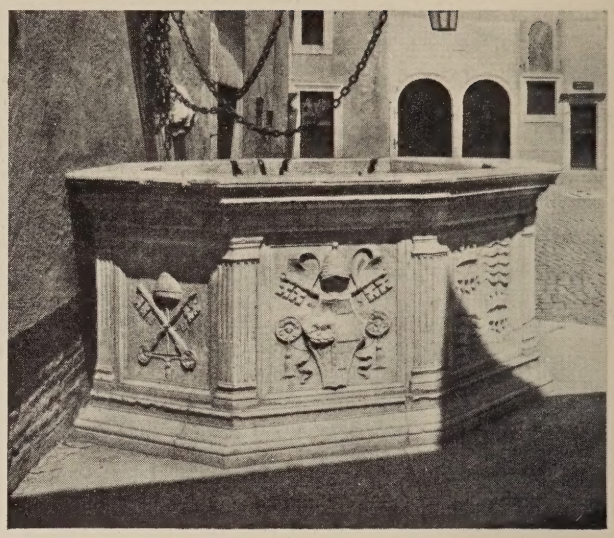


Fig. 52. *Photo Alinari.* Well-head in the castle of Sant' Angelo.

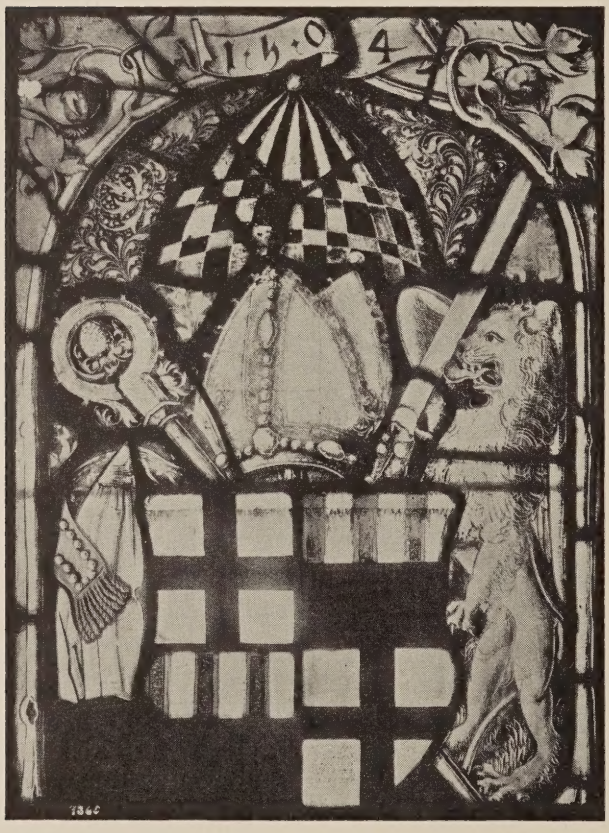


Fig. 51. Glass panel with the arms of Martin von Weissenburg, abbot of Reichenau. 1504. Swiss National Museum, Zurich.

Fig. 53. *Photo Anderson.* Well-head in the castle of Sant' Angelo.

By the time of the Council of Constance, however, the *ombrellino* shows a return in shape to the older rounded form[1] and has become very large (Fig. 49). With the Council of Basle (1431–49) we again find the pointed shape, as can be seen from an example of that date preserved in the sketch-book[2] of a 16th-century draughtsman which shows the pointed form with hollow sides and an unusual arrangement of the colours in concentric circles (Fig. 48); a somewhat similar arrangement of the colours with two counterchanged stripes circling the edge appears also in a glass painting[3] of the arms of an abbot of Reichenau (1504), but in this latter case the shape of the *ombrellino* itself is intermediate between the round and pointed types (Fig. 51). On the fine well-head of Alexander VI in the castle of Sant' Angelo (Figs. 52 and 53), as well as on the frieze of Bramante's Tempietto in San Pietro in Montorio (1535), examples of both the rounded and the pointed type can be seen. After the 16th century the pointed form is definitely retained.

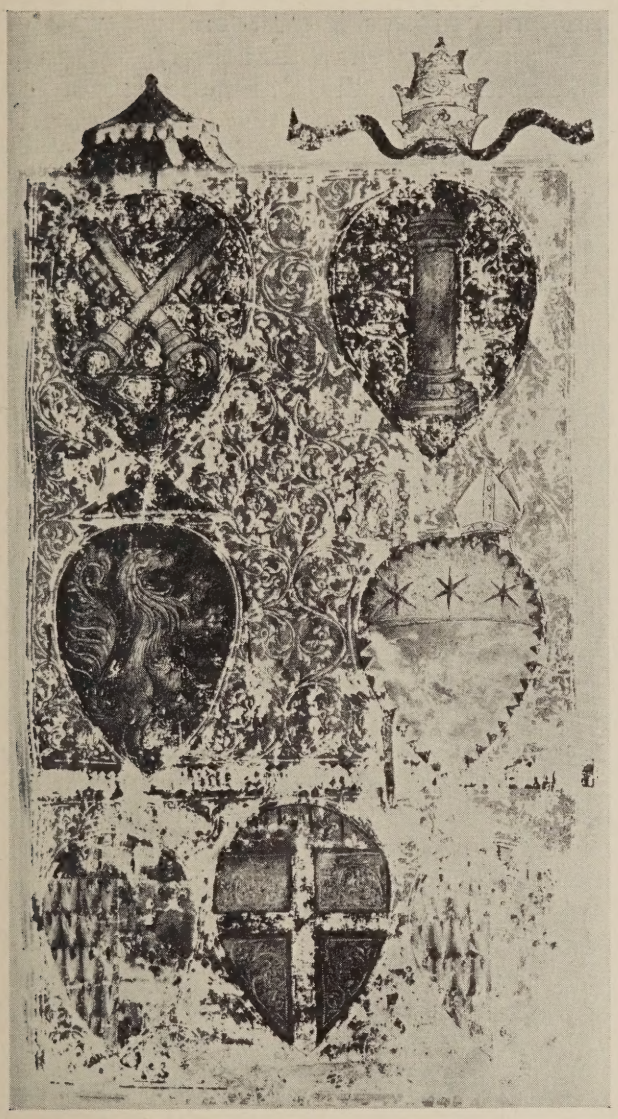


Fig. 54. Frontispiece of the Statutes of the Drapers' Guild. Museo Civico, Bologna.

Fig. 55. The Pope under a baldaquin. Fresco by Pinturicchio. Cathedral Library, Siena.

Among the expenses incurred for the coronation of Innocent VI (1353) there is an item *pro aptando Angelum argenti* which, together

1 Richental, fol. 68 v.

2 *Basler Wappenbuch* in the library of the Berlin Arsenal. The author, Conrad Schnitt, had a keen taste for heraldry and copied a great many achievements extant in his day, dating largely from the time of the Council. See *A.H.S.* 1916, p. 145.

3 In the National Museum at Zurich.

with white silk cords, a large silk button and a considerable quantity of green linen (probably for the lining) *omnia posita fuerunt in pavalhone novo*[1]. It would seem therefore that the silver angel was taken from an older pavilion and made to serve for the new one, which was made of *catassamitum rubrum* and *croceum* with an edging (*bardatura*, doubtless the fall) of red and yellow silk. The pavilion with a kneeling angel appears in the illustrations to the Book of the Council of Constance (Fig. 49). In 1471, at the coronation of Sixtus IV, the angel was in need of repairs, as there is a payment[2] *pro soldatura et redoratura angeli qui portatur super umbrellam.*

Fig. 56. Double zecchino of Cardinal-camerlengo Albani. 1740. (3/2.)

Fig. 57. Seal of Caesar Borgia. 1502. (1/1.)

The size of the pavilion necessitated its being borne before the Pope by an armed man on horseback, a practice which continued at least as late as the procession of Innocent VIII to the Lateran, for Burchard[3] speaks of *unus serviens armorum, equester, umbraculum portans.* Since the middle of the 16th century the pavilion is sometimes surmounted by a cross, and on some 18th- and 19th-century coins[4] by a dove of the Holy Ghost (Fig. 56).

The *ombrellino* is nearly always coloured yellow and red, and, with very rare exception, the colours are arranged in longitudinal triangular strips, with a short fall generally counterchanged in tincture. A 15th-century example at Bologna[5] (Fig. 54) has a double fall, the upper one blue, the lower one gold and red, countercoloured. The accounts of the 15th century show that the fall was then ornamented with the alternate arms of the Church and the Pope, as there are payments[6] in 1419, 1464 and 1471 *pro scudetis* (varying in number from 12 to 34) *ad insignia Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Papae et Ecclesiae factis circumcirca umbrellam* (or *baldechinum*) *quae portata fuit ante S.D.P. in festo suae coronationis*, but no representations of such pavilions seem to be known, although two of Pinturicchio's frescoes in the library at Siena (1502–9) show a daïs with a fall charged alternately with the arms of Pius II and with those of the Church, i.e. the keys and the *ombrellino* in a red field, but not in a shield (Fig. 55). Burchard speaks of the umbrella as being red and white[7], and the decorations of the Lateran transept, dating from Clement VIII's reign, show blue pavilions with gold falls, a colouring which is also occasionally found in the arms of the Gonfaloniers. Still red and yellow are the usual colours and the only ones in use to-day, while the size of the pavilion has been reduced so that it can be carried by one man on foot. The pavilions of the Major Basilicas, as they are borne in processions, are of red and yellow silk damask and show the badge of the Church (the tiara above the crossed keys) on alternate lapels of the fall; those of the Minor Basilicas are of plain red and yellow silk.

The earliest heraldic use of the *ombrellino* is as a "timbre" above the shield of the Papacy, a use which seems restricted to the time of Martin V. On the frontispiece of the Statutes of the Drapers' Guild of Bologna (Fig. 54) the

1 Guidi, "La Coronazione d'Innocenzo VI," in *Papsttum und Kaisertum. Forschungen zur politischen Geschichte und Geisteskultur des Mittelalters, Paul Kehr zum* 65. *Geburtstag dargebracht*, Munich, 1926, p. 571.

2 Müntz XV, XXVIII. p. 246.

3 *Johannis Burchardi Diarium sive rerum urbanarum commentarii* (1483–1506), ed. Thuasne, Paris, 1883, I. 103.

4 Ser. III. cxvii. 20 (1738, the earliest); III. cxxii. 15–19; III. clxi. 8–12; III. clxii. 7, 8, 15.

5 Frontispiece of the Statutes *della Società dei Drappieri* of Bologna, of the year 1411. The arms of Pope Martin V and of the cardinal-legate Aleman indicate the years 1426–30 for the execution of the painting. I am indebted to Sg. P. Ducati, Director of the Museo Civico at Bologna, for the photograph of this page.

6 Müntz XV, IV. 27; IX. 125, 126; XXVIII. 269.

7 *Umbraculum de zendali rubeo et albo*—Burchard, *op. cit.* I. 76.

shield of the Church (*gules two keys silver*) is thus surmounted by an *ombrellino* as is also the cross and key shield of 1422 in Bologna (see p. 4), and the shield dating from 1431 to 1449 (Fig. 48). In all these cases the *ombrellino* serves as a "timbre" of the Church's arms. By far the most frequent use of the *ombrellino* heraldically is, however, as a badge together with the crossed keys to represent the temporal power; it is suggestive that this device of the Papacy should first be used in this way under Alexander VI, at a time when Caesar Borgia was trying to transform the precarious feudal lordship of the Popes over Central Italy into a definite Papal State. The keys, generally both gold with the one in bend sinister lying over the one in bend, are crossed over the staff of the pavilion, but exceptions, both as to colour and position, are not infrequent.

Used as a badge, the device appears on tiles of Alexander VI in the castle of St Angelo and on his well-head, where it balances the Borgia family badges, the double crown and flames (Fig. 53); in the Siena frescoes mentioned above (Fig. 55); on coins[1] of Julius II and of Leo X; above the Perugian griffin in a woodcut of the *Perusie magistratuum ordines ca.* 1510–25; on the base of the statue of St Peter on the Sant' Angelo bridge (1530); in the decorations of the Vatican Library, of St John Lateran (Fig. 167) and of the Lateran Palace; in the windows of the Laurentian Library in Florence.

The earliest appearance of this device in a shield is on two seals[2] of Caesar Borgia as Gonfalonier of the Church (1502), where it fills the pale of augmentation (Fig. 57); a similar priority of the use of the keys alone and of the tiara and keys in a composite coat has been noticed in previous chapters. In 1511 it appears in a red field on one of the banners presented by Julius II to the Swiss (Fig. 118).

The earliest independent heraldic use of the pavilion and keys in a shield seems to date from the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572–85). On the Piazza del Municipio at Viterbo are a series of shields, with on the one side the coat of the Pope set between that of the governor of the city, Cardinal Farnese, and one bearing the arms in question, and on the other the Pope's shield flanked by that of the governor and that of the city. Such a grouping of separate shields is the logical development of an earlier arrangement to be seen, e.g. on the façade of San Francesco at Piacenza, where there are carved one above the other: the badge of the Church, keys and *ombrellino*; below it the shield of Leo X, surmounted by the keys and the tiara; and at the bottom the shield of the bishop Vascio Malabaila surmounted by the mitre.

While examples of shields containing the keys and *ombrellino* are extremely rare, it seems that from its origin the coat *Gules a pavilion gold charged on the staff with a pair of tied keys in saltire gold* has been considered to be the arms of the Papal States as distinct from those of the Holy See. As such, it made an appearance in one of the quarterings of the coat of the evanescent Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy. Since 1870 the occasions for its employment have disappeared, and the latest political developments in Italy have not brought about its resuscitation.

Of all the armorial uses of the *ombrellino* the best known is connected with the *interregna sede vacante*. The heraldry of these periods must be studied in the coinage, which supplies the chief and nearly the sole evidence.

From the interregnum of the year 1378 which ushered in the Great Schism and when the first coins *sede vacante* seem to have been struck, until 1521, the devices which are found on them are, besides the seated figure of a Pope, the tiara and the crossed keys whether jointly or singly.

Though, as we have seen, both Julius II and Leo X had struck coins bearing the pavillion and keys, it is during the interregnum of 1521, following the death of the latter Pope, that the *ombrellino* first makes its appearance on the coinage *sede vacante*. The camerlengo, Cardinal Armellini, then struck ducats and giulios[3] showing the crossed keys surmounted by the *ombrellino* with at the

1 Ser. I. xxvi. 1; I. xxx. 2.
2 Demay, *Clair.* 9188; D.d'A. 11756.
3 Ser. I. xxxi. 9, 10.

bottom a diminutive achievement, shield, cross and hat, of his own arms (Fig. 58). In attaching his own arms to the device of the Church, the cardinal was only following the usage of

Fig. 58. Zecchino of Cardinal-camerlengo Armellini. 1521. (3/2.)

Fig. 59. Avignon zecchino of Julius II. (3/2.)

the mint of Avignon where the cardinal-legate Georges d'Amboise had struck coins of Julius II with a shield of the keys surmounted by the tiara, and a microscopic achievement of his own placed by the side of the papal arms (Fig. 59)[1].

Fig. 60. From a medal of Cardinal-camerlengo Sforza. 1549. (3/2.)

The coins struck in Rome[2] by Armellini during the interregnum of 1523 are similar to those of 1521, but in Piacenza mezzogiulios were struck[3] showing on the obverse the keys and pavilion only, and on the reverse the Piacenza wolf, while in 1534 Cardinal Accolti, legate in the March of Ancona, struck similar coins with the keys and pavilion on one side and his own arms on the other.

These coins show that the intention was merely to use a badge of the Church which was associated with the temporal possessions of the Popes rather than with their spiritual

Fig. 61. Testone of Cardinal-camerlengo Caetani. 1590. (3/2.)

empire, and prove that the arms of the cardinal-camerlengo were not a necessary adjunct[4].

For some time the camerlengo's arms continued to be disproportionally small; they

Fig. 62. Testone of Cardinal-camerlengo Aldobrandini. 1623. (3/2.)

Fig. 63. Gold scudo of Cardinal-camerlengo Spinola. 1700. (3/2.)

were modestly placed beneath the large keys and pavilion and took up only about a third of the field (Fig. 60). Gradually however they increased in size and encroached on the papal symbols until they took over the greater part of the field, and the keys and pavilion began to appear mere honorific adjuncts to the camerlengo's achievement (Figs. 61–63).

1 Ser. I. xxvii. 23, 24. 2 Ser. I. xxxii. 13. 3 Ser. I. xxxii. 15.

4 Coins with the pavilion and keys on the obverse and varying devices on the reverse continued to be struck all through the 17th century.

During the interregnum of 1878 the medals[1] struck by the camerlengo, Cardinal Pecci, afterwards Leo XIII, show a return to a correct understanding of the use of the pavilion

Fig. 64. Medal of Cardinal-camerlengo Pecci. 1878. Slightly reduced.

and keys, which appear on the obverse of the medal while the camerlengo's personal shield with cross and hat are to be found alone on the reverse (Fig. 64); the medals of Cardinals Oreglia (1903), della Volpe (1914), and Gasparri (1922) show the same arrangement[2].

Fig. 65. Giulio of Cardinal-legate Serra. 1621. (3/2.)

Fig. 66. Quattrino of Ferrara. 1655. (3/2.)

Absolutely certain examples of the use of the pavilion by the cardinal-camerlengo, other than that on the interregnal coins and medals, are extremely rare. An engraving of the conclave[3] of 1774 shows the arms of the camerlengo, Cardinal Carlo Rezzonico, with the pavilion and keys above and behind his achievement, but a companion plate gives his arms without these adjuncts.

The statement usually found in books on heraldry to the effect that the camerlengo regularly surmounts his arms with the pavilion and keys must be considered to have been based on a misreading of the numismatic evidence, and since 1878 even their apparent

Fig. 67. Mezzo scudo of Bologna. 1769. Arms of Cardinal-legate Pallavicini and of Bologna. (3/2.)

use in connection with that prelate's arms can be recognised as at an end.

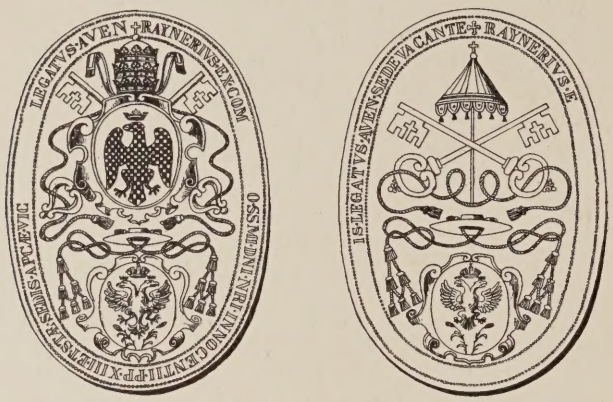
The coins struck *sede vacante* by the cardinal-camerlengo are by no means the only examples of the pavilion and keys used in juxtaposition with a coat of arms. During the interregna of 1621 and 1623 Cardinal Serra, legate of Ferrara, struck coins[4] of a type precisely similar to those of the camerlengo, showing the pavilion and keys with his own achievement, shield, cross and hat, below (Fig. 65). Cardinal Spada, legate in 1655, did the same[5], and the interregnal coins of Ferrara of 1676 are still more remarkable[6], for they show the pavilion and keys placed above the shield of the city (Fig. 66).

Fig. 68. Zecchino of Bologna. 1771. Arms of Cardinal-legate Brancinforte and of Bologna. (3/2.)

In 1667 the pavilion and keys also make their appearance on the interregnal coins of the legates of Bologna. The arms of the cardinal and those of the city are placed side by

1 *A.P.C.* 1915, p. 220. 2 *A.P.C.* 1915, p. 222; 1915, p. 223; 1923, p. 62.
3 *Nuova et essatta pianta del conclave fatto in sede vacante di papa—Paolo Filaja incise*, Calcografia, Rome (1774).
4 Ser. II. lxviii. 27; lxx. 22–24. 5 Ser. II. lxxx. 6–8. 6 Ser. II. lxxxvii. 15, 16.

side, and above them, taking up quite half of the field, we find the keys surmounted by the *ombrellino*[1] (Fig. 67). Coins of a similar type were struck during most of the interregna following until 1774, and even occasionally during the reign of certain Popes[2], but, as happened in the case of the camerlengo's coins, here also the pavilion and keys fail to hold their own against the encroaching armorial achievements, and the coins of the 18th century show the keys half-disappearing behind the arms of the city and the cardinal-legate, and the *ombrellino* nearly touching them (Fig. 68).



Figs. 69 and 70. Seals of Raniero d'Elci, vice-legate of Avignon. 1721 and 1724. During the reign of Innocent XIII and during the *interregnum sede vacante*. (1/2.) From Blancard, *Iconographie des Sceaux et Bulles...des Archives...des Bouches du Rhône*, Marseilles and Paris, 1860.

Another case of the use of the pavilion *sede vacante* is shown by the seal[3] of Raniero d'Elci, vice-legate of Avignon in 1724. Whereas his seal in 1721 showed the usual arrangement of vice-legatine seals (the arms of the Pope Innocent XIII above, and the vice-legate's below surmounted by his hat), the *sede vacante* seal replaces the achievement of the Pontiff by the pavilion and keys, which thus seem to surmount the vice-legate's arms (Figs. 69, 70).

There are still a few other examples of the heraldic use of the pavilion. Since the 16th century, some of the churches possessing the privileges of Minor Basilicas have surmounted their shields of arms by the pavilion which they are entitled to have carried in processions, and have even placed it in or above their shield. Some of the towns of the Papal States have either placed the *ombrellino* above their shield (Bologna)[4], or have placed the *ombrellino* and keys above their heraldic beast (Perugia)[5], or in the chief of their shield of arms (Corneto-Tarquinia)[6].

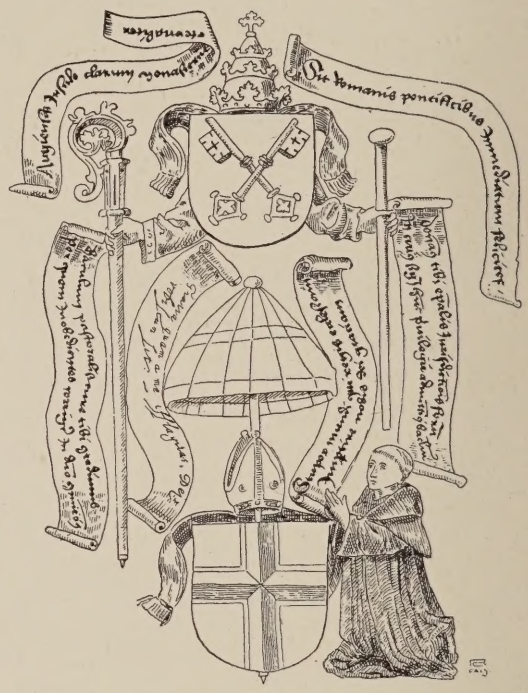


Fig. 71. Arms of the Holy See and of the abbey of Reichenau. Reichenau Chronicle of Gallus Oheim. From *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau*, Munich, 1925.

A few of the Doges of Venice have also surmounted their arms by the pavilion, but examples are rare, for in the long series of portraits of the Doges in the Museo Correr at Venice, only that of Nicola Sagredo (by *Suor Isabella Piccini, monaca in Santa Croce di Venetia*) and that of Domenico Contarini (1659) show the pavilion. The use originated in the grant of the *ombrellino* in 1177 to the Doge Sebastiano Ziani by Alexander III, to counter the employment of the *ombrellino*, hitherto borne only

1 Ser. II. lxxxiii. 4.
2 In 1746 and 1771 (Fig. 68).
3 Blancard, II. pl. 114, 1 and 2.
4 Stone reliefs in Bologna, *ca.* 1600.
5 Woodcut 1510–25, title-page of the *Perusie Magistratuum Ordines*, Communal Library, Perugia.
6 16th-century shields on the fountain in the piazza at Corneto.

before the Pope himself, by the Emperor Frederick I during the negotiations at Venice between Pope and Emperor. In processions the pavillion was borne immediately behind, not before the Doge[1]. Occasionally the *ombrellino* is placed above the shield of the Republic[2].

A curious case is the use of the pavillion in connection with the arms of the abbey of Reichenau, a Benedictine monastery on an island in the lake of Constance. A drawing in the chronicle[3] of the monastery by Gallus Oheim (*ca.* 1496) shows the shield of the abbey surmounted by a mitre through which passes the staff of a pavilion above it (Fig. 71); glass paintings of the arms of the abbots Martin von Weissenburg (1504), in the Swiss National Museum at Zurich (see Fig. 51), and Marcus von Knoeringen (1535, in the Musée Cluny in Paris), show a similar arrangement. The explanation is that the abbots, who found difficulty in maintaining the independence of their house against the encroaching bishops of Constance, took this means of emphasising the immediate subjection of the monastery to the Holy See *nullo mediante*.

Fig. 72. Bookstamp of Jacopo Boncompagni, 1st duke of Sora.

The pavilion, either alone or with the keys, is added to their arms by the papal families, that is the families which have given a Pope to the Church. The usage appears at the beginning of the 17th century.

An early example is to be seen on the bookstamp of a Boncompagni (probably Jacopo 1st duke of Sora + 1612), where the shield shows a chief with the pavilion and keys (Fig. 72)[4]. A different use appears on the monumental fireplace in the castle of St Angelo, which shows the arms of Taddeo Barberini (+ 1647), nephew of Urban VIII; the pavilion with

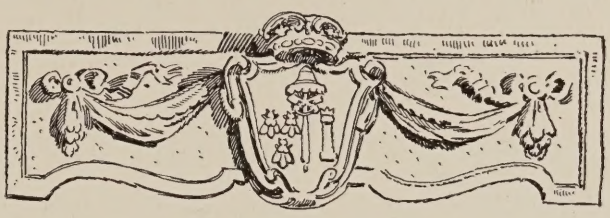


Fig. 73. Marble fireplace in the castle of Sant' Angelo with the arms of Taddeo Barberini.

the crossed keys placed just under the umbrella divides the Barberini bees from the Colonna column of his wife's arms (Fig. 73), while the tomb of Carlo Barberini, brother

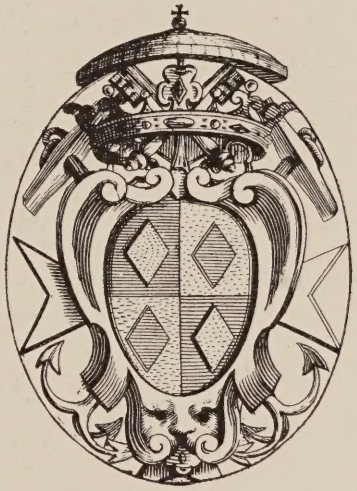


Fig. 74. Arms of Vincenzo Rospigliosi, nephew of Clement IX, *bailli* of the Order of Malta and general of the papal galleys. From an engraved portrait.

of the Pope, in the church of Araceli, shows the pavilion and keys placed between the three bees, and a stone shield in the Piazza del Mercato at Spoleto, probably also that of Carlo Barberini, shows the *ombrellino* and keys charging a chief enty in point[5].

1 Cf. a 16th-century woodcut of a procession, engraved *in Venetia per Matthio pagano in frezzaria al segno de la fede* and a similar 17th-century copper engraving in the Museo Correr at Venice.

2 Stone carving over a door near the Palazzo di San Marco at Rome, *ca.* 1600.

3 In the University Library at Freiburg i.B.

4 On the binding of a Panvinius, *Romanorum quorum maxima in Italia imperia fuerunt*, Basle, 1558, in the possession of Messrs Maggs, attributed in their catalogue to Cardinal Borghese.

5 That is, placed in a triangular space at the top of the shield, formed by two lines curved like a brace and meeting at a point a little above the centre of the shield.

The arms of Camillo, Prince Pamphili, nephew of Innocent X, in Bernini's church of S. Andrea al Quirinale, have the pavilion and keys placed in the chief of the shield without any line of demarcation (Fig. 75), while two engraved portraits of Mario Chigi, brother of Alexander VII, show, the one, a chief gules with the *ombrellino* and keys gold added to the Rovere-Chigi coat, and the other, the *ombrellino* alone placed above the shield; a third Chigi example, a marble escutcheon in the family chapel in the cathedral at Siena, shows the Rovere-Chigi quarters divided by a pale with the *ombrellino* and keys, imitating the Gonfalonier's achievements. It is worth noting that these augmentations *in* the shield are usually borne only by the lay members of the families in question. One exception may be noted here, as it provides still another way of marshalling the pavilion and keys. The arms of Cardinal Domenico Orsini, who was created by Benedict XIV in 1743, in the pavement of the Orsini chapel in St John Lateran show a quarterly shield divided by a white cross; the quarters are, 1st, the Empire, 2nd, Aragon, 3rd, Hungary, 4th, Anjou and Jerusalem; an inescutcheon is quarterly of Orsini and Orsini Ancient (*silver a bear sable*). The pavilion and keys are placed on the upper vertical arm of the cross.

Fig. 75. *Photo Alinari.* Arms of Camillo, Prince Pamphili, by Bernini. Church of S. Andrea al Quirinale, Rome.

The most commonly used method of bearing the *ombrellino* is to place it above the shield, generally with the keys crossed over the staff (Fig. 74). Both pavilion and keys are usually quite small, although occasionally, as on the book-plate[1] of Cardinal Francesco de' Medici-

1 Du Roure de Paulin, *L'Héraldique Ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1910, p. 16. Contrary to the author's statement the cardinal was never camerlengo.

Ottaiano, a large *ombrellino* overshadows the shield, while the keys crossed behind the latter have the same relative importance as in a papal achievement.

Occasionally the keys alone are placed above the shield by a papal family, as for instance in the arms of the Aldobrandini in Litta's work. Some of the oldest papal families, such as the Savelli and the Colonna, do not seem to have considered it necessary to indicate this distinction in their family armorials, while others such as the Morra of Naples, who have annexed Gregory VIII on doubtful evidence, and Victor III for being heirs of blood of a family claiming descent from that Pope's house, now use a pale with two sets of tiaras and keys in their shield.

According to the modern ruling of the Consulta Araldica, papal families and families who have held a vicariate or the Captain-Generalship of the Church, bear the heraldic ornamentation called "Basilica," that is the *ombrellino* and keys, either above the shield or in chief according to the traditional use of the families in question[1]. This extension of the bearing of the pavilion and keys is a recent development. No satisfactory reason for the appearance of the "Basilica" in the arms of the Pio di Carpi family, who bear it, in a chief or in a pale, at least since 1552, seems to be known.

1 *Bollettino della Consulta Araldica*, V (1900–3), 774.

CHAPTER V

THE ARMORIAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE POPES TO THE END OF THE GREAT SCHISM

THE use by the Popes of a personal achievement of arms begins in the second half of the 13th century, considerably later therefore than their use of a coat for the Papacy. Boniface VIII is however the first Pontiff of whose arms we have any certain contemporary examples, for, as the Popes bore originally merely their family shield without any distinctive adjunct such as tiara or keys, it is impossible to attribute certain shields to a Pope in preference to other members of his family.

Apart from this, there exist a number of more or less well-known achievements of the 12th- and 13th-century Popes which are not contemporary. The Allucingoli shields surmounted by tiaras from the tomb of Lucius III at Verona, if they ever existed, dated only from 1385; the mosaic Conti shields on fragments of an altar railing at Grottaferrata may represent Gregory IX, but there is no proof forthcoming; although we have contemporary evidence that Urban IV possessed and made use of a coat of arms, no achievement of his remains; the Viterbo shield with six fleurs-de-lis ascribed to Clement IV had nothing to do with him, and was probably a Farnese coat; the Bologna reliquary of the head of St Dominic with its shields bearing an inverted pile and surmounted by the tiara (Fig. 128), which certainly are intended to be Innocent V's, dates from 1383; the arms of Hadrian V on his tomb in Viterbo are of the 15th century, and the three small Fieschi shields on the wall beside the tomb may be of the Pope's time, but there is no certainty of their being intended for him; the sixteen Orsini shields in the windows of San Francesco at Assisi are probably meant for Nicholas III, but they date from the 14th century (Fig. 129); finally, as the tomb in the Araceli in Rome, to which Honorius IV's remains and effigy were transferred under Paul III, is that of his mother, the arms upon it are those of his parents and not the Pope's (Fig. 125).

Of Boniface VIII's coat, there are several contemporaneous examples. The remains of a fresco by Giotto in the Lateran show the Pope standing on a balcony from which hang tapestries with Caetani shields, his family arms, *sans timbre*; on his tomb in the Grotte Vaticane a number of star-shaped ornaments, each containing a roundel with the two wavy bendlets, are sculptured in relief on the cloth beneath the figure of the Pontiff; there is a shield of his arms at Viterbo on the Palazzo Sacchi dating from 1295, another[1], also at Viterbo, on the Torre di Branca with the keys beside it, and on a mosaic slab at Anagni, two shields with the Caetani arms together with a tiara, an *ombrellino*, and two shields of his mother's arms (Fig. 47); in paintings by Simone Martini of St Louis of Toulouse, in the Naples Museum, the drapery covering the Pope's throne and the wall behind it are strewn with small Caetani shields (Fig. 131); besides these still extant examples, there is an engraving of Ciacconius[2] which shows that the shield-shaped spaces at the base of Boniface's tomb were formerly filled by the Caetani arms in mosaic.

The arms of Benedict XI in the church of San Niccolo at Treviso date from the 15th and 18th centuries, but on his tomb at Perugia are two plain shields, unfortunately no longer showing any traces of heraldic bearings, and similar plain shields of the arms of Clement V in the cathedral of St Bertrand de Comminges may date from his pontificate but are possibly earlier (Fig. 132).

1 Scriattoli, *Viterbo nei suoi monumenti*, Rome, 1915–20, p. 244 and p. 78.
2 *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum et S.R.E. Cardinalium*, Rome, 1677, II. col. 315–316.

John XXII (1316–34) is the first Pope who is certain to have placed the tiara above his shield, and his arms, a lion in an orle of roundels quartering two bars, surmounted by a tiara, are carved on the walls of his (and his

Fig. 76. Seal of Gaubert, archbishop of Arles and papal chamberlain. 1325. (1/1.)

nephew Cardinal de Via's) chapel in Avignon Cathedral (Fig. 133). The seal of the *auditor curie camere domini pape* of 1319 (Fig. 16) and the seals of the papal chamberlain Gaubert, bishop of Marseilles in 1320 and archbishop

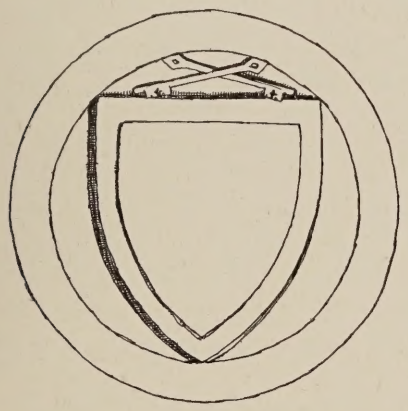


Fig. 77. Keystone with the arms of Benedict XII in the papal palace at Avignon.

of Arles in 1325, show two shields, at the dexter the shield with the crossed keys and at the sinister the shield of John XXII, but without the tiara (Fig. 76). The custom of placing the two shields of the Church and of the Pope side by side, of which these are the first examples, continues through the 14th and 15th centuries up to the reign of Innocent VIII (see Fig. 91).

The only achievements of Benedict XII still to be seen are carved on keystones in the

Figs. 78 and 79. Keystones with the arms of Innocent VI in the parish church at Beyssac.

papal palace of Avignon[1], where the shields are surmounted by small crossed keys wards downward (Fig. 77). Of the numerous existing armorial achievements of the two Popes of the Roger de Beaufort family, Clement VI and Gregory XI, only two are to be attributed with certainty to the former Pope. The first is the fine achievement above the prin-

1 In the Tour de la Campane. Cp. *R.A.C.* 1908, p. 263.

cipal entrance to the Palace of the Popes at Avignon, where the Beaufort shield is upheld by two small human figures, and is surmounted by a pair of crossed and tied keys, above which appears a tiara with short broad fillets.

Fig. 80. *Photo Anderson.* Arms of Urban V. Cloisters of St John Lateran.

The wards of the keys are placed downward and outward (Fig. 40). The second example is on the monument of Bishop Baldracco Malabaila in the cathedral at Asti[1], where a chief with the keys and a single-crowned tiara is added to the Beaufort coat, but the shield has no "timbre" (see Fig. 41). Four shields of Clement's arms are mentioned by Menestrier[2]. Two of these were in the chapel of St Martial at Sens, one surmounted by the tiara and the other by the keys, while the two others, both surmounted by the keys, were at Rouen. A drawing of a lamp presented in 1349 by Clement VI to the town of Saint Esprit (near Bayonne) shows a number of Beaufort shields surmounted either by a tiara or by the keys (see Fig. 134)[3]. The shields in the so-called missal of Clement VI in the library of Clermont-Ferrand show the missal to have been made in the 15th century for Louis Roger de Beaufort, Marquis de Canillac[4].

Under Innocent VI (1352–62) there is again considerable variation in the objects accompanying the shield. A shield at Asti dated 1353 is surmounted by a single-crowned tiara above two crossed keys (see Fig. 41)[5]; on a keystone in the sacristy of St Laurent at Avignon the shield is surmounted by a pair of crossed keys (Fig. 135), while on keystones in the church at Beyssac near Pompadour the shields are surmounted by a tiara and flanked by pairs of keys (Figs. 78 and 79); one shield has a chief with a pair of keys and the other a chief containing two pairs of keys. A manuscript in the Museo Civico at Bologna[6] shows the Pope's shield surmounted by a single-crowned tiara (see Fig. 5), which is replaced by the triple-crowned form on a stone in Smyrna castle (Fig. 21); on his tomb the shield is placed on a pair of crossed keys, and finally at St Agricole of Avignon one of two shields of his arms is surmounted by the tiara and the other by the keys.

In a fine MS of the Vatican Library[7], Urban V (1362–70) has his shield surmounted by the tiara and supported by two cherubim (Fig. 136). His shield has a chief with the crossed keys alone and is surmounted by the tiara in various places on the ciborium of

1 *Riv. Ar.* 1924, p. 53.
2 *Origine des Ornemens des Armoiries*, Paris, 1680, p. 149.
3 Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, Paris, 1888, VI. pl. CDXLV, from the Montfaucon papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale.
4 Couderc, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la ville de Clermont-Ferrand*, Paris, 1890, p. 19.
5 *Riv. Ar.* 1924, p. 53.
6 The Statutes of the Mercers' Guild; see p. 4.
7 *Vat. lat.* 2598.

St John Lateran and on a stone relief in the cloisters (Fig. 80), as well as on a manuscript in the Departmental Archives at Avignon[1]. A drawing representing Urban's voyage to Rome shows the prow of his small boat decorated with a banner of his arms which is surmounted, as if it were a shield, by two crossed keys (Fig. 82)[2]. It was evidently felt that both the keys and the tiara belong to the Pope's shield and various methods were tried before the relation still in use to-day was finally adopted to the exclusion of all others.

On the façade of the church of San Paolo fuori le mura the arms of Gregory XI formerly appeared surmounted by a tiara[3]. A fine shield in the cloister of the Lateran shows the Beaufort coat similarly surmounted by a tiara, which is flanked on each side by a pair of crossed keys (Fig. 137).

Gregory XI also made use at times of plain shields of his arms without either tiara or keys, as for example on carved stone fragments in the cloisters of Santa Maria degli Angeli at Assisi and of St John Lateran in Rome.

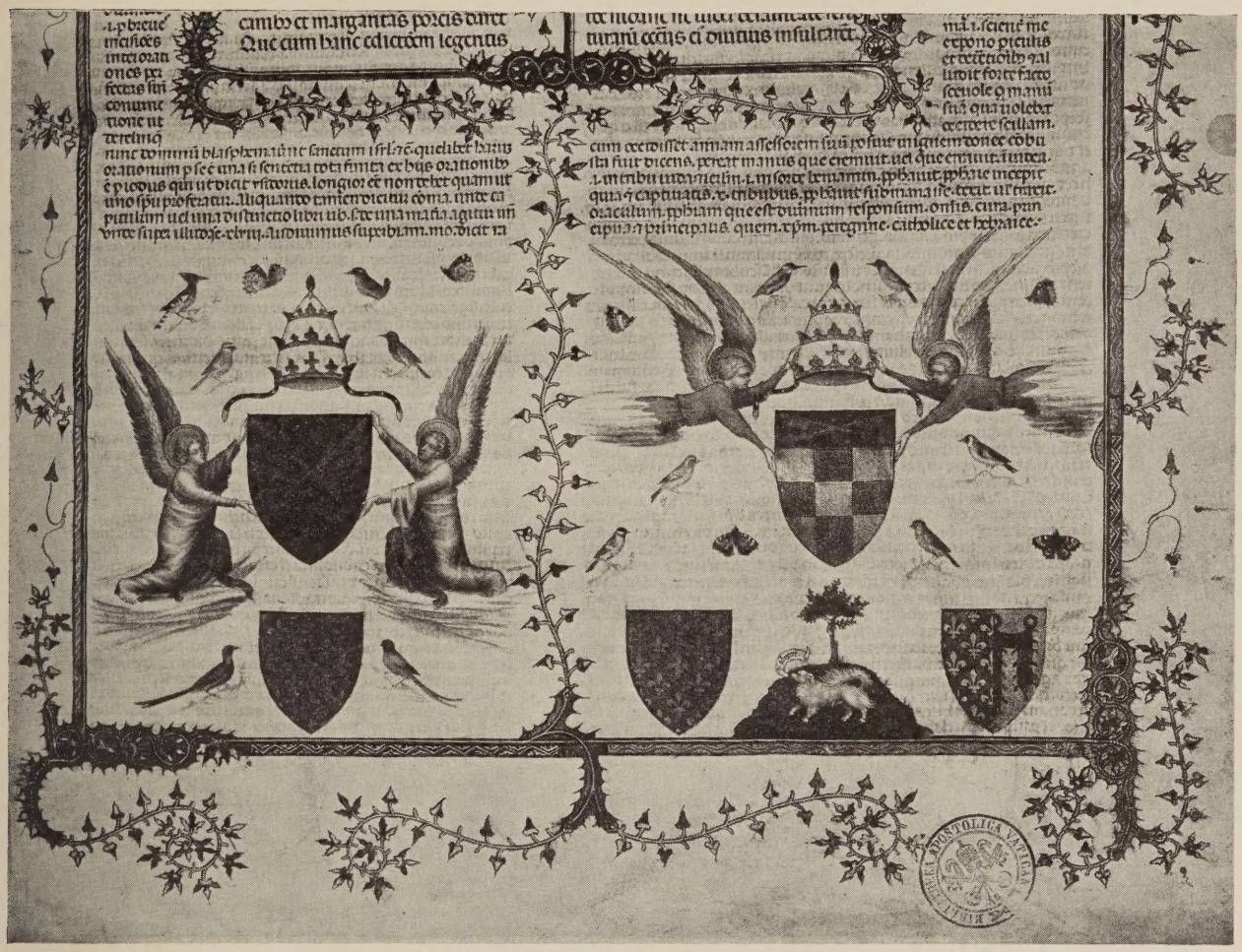


Fig. 81. Arms of the Church, of the anti-pope Clement VII, of John, duke of Berry, and of his wife Jeanne d'Auvergne, with the latter's badge. From MS *Vat. lat.* 51 in the Vatican Library.

1 *Arch. dép. Vaucluse G* 10, see Labande, *Le Palais des Papes et les Monuments d'Avignon au XIVe siècle*, Marseilles, 1925, I. p. 9.

2 MS I 348 in the library of the Musée Calvet at Avignon. See Labande, *op. cit.* p. 34.

3 *R.A.C.* 1898, p. 17. From an *engraving by Nicolai, 1815.

Of Urban VI we have only the arms on his tomb in the Grotte Vaticane, and there the shields are surmounted by tiaras (Fig. 138).

Fig. 82. Urban V on his voyage to Rome. Marginal illustration from MS I 348 in the library of the Musée Calvet, Avignon.

At Avignon and elsewhere Robert of Geneva, the anti-pope Clement VII, shows a remarkably varied use of his arms. Not only is there in the Musée Calvet at Avignon a stone relief from his monument which shows a shield surmounted by the crossed keys (Fig. 83), but the Bollandists have published an engraving from the same tomb of a round shield of the Geneva arms surmounted by the tiara

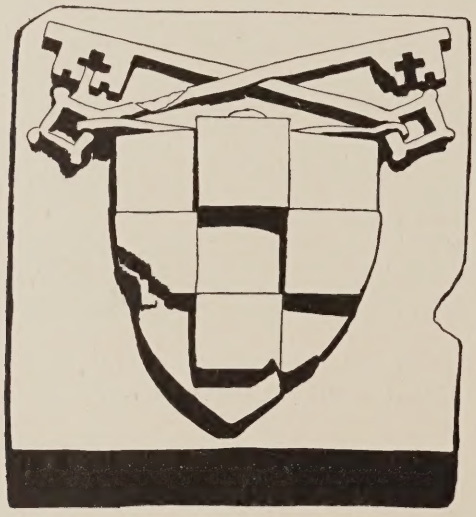


Fig. 83. Arms of Clement VII from his monument. Musée Calvet, Avignon.

behind which the keys are crossed[1]. A bracket in the church of St Martial at Avignon has an angel holding a shield surmounted by the tiara (Fig. 139), whereas a manuscript in the Vatican Library[2] shows the *Nine pieces gold and azure* of his arms surmounted by a chief of the Church *Gules two crossed keys silver* and the shield ensigned by the tiara, both shield

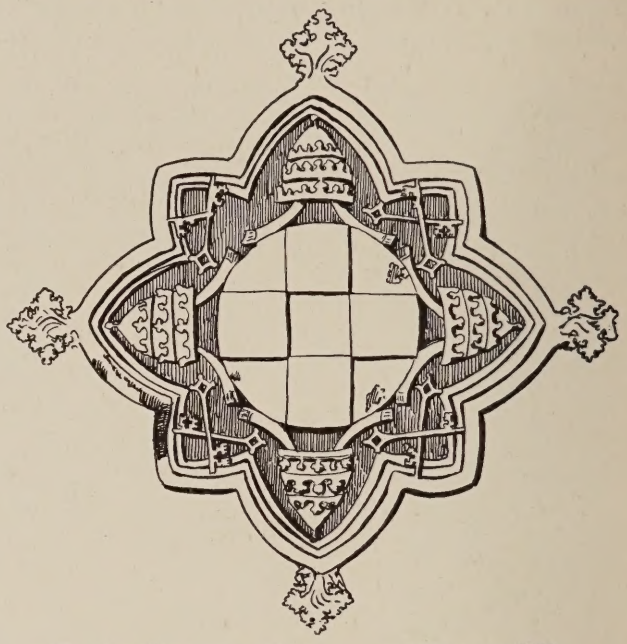


Fig. 84. Keystone with the arms of Clement VII in the church of the Celestins, Avignon.

Fig. 85. Seal of Clement VII, Pope and hereditary count of Geneva. 1393. (1/1.)

and tiara being held on each side by a flying angel (Fig. 81).

In a window of the cathedral of Bourges

1 *R.A.C.* 1896, p. 455.

2 *Vat. lat.* 51.

the Geneva shield is surmounted by two white crossed keys beneath a large tiara and is held by two angels, while on the south portal of the cathedral of Vienne we again find Clement's shield, with a tiara above it and a space between the two which may well have been filled by a pair of crossed keys no longer existing (Fig. 38). There is also in the church of the Celestins at Avignon a very fine keystone showing a round shield of the Geneva arms surrounded by four tiaras and four pairs of crossed keys (Fig. 84).

Finally there exist, in the Royal Archives of Turin, several examples of a large and fine wax seal of Clement with the legend SIGILLUM CLEMENTIS PAPE SEPTIMI COMITIS HEREDITARII GEBENNENSIS. This seal[1], equally remarkable for its heraldry and its inscription, shows the Geneva shield surmounted by the head and wings of an eagle and supported by two leopards, and is unique among the seals of the Popes (Fig. 85).

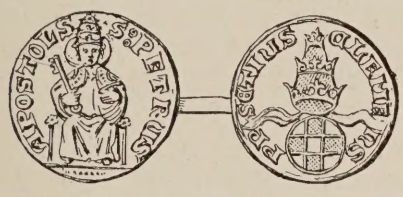


Fig. 86. Coin of Clement VII. (1/1.) From Baluzius, *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium*, ed. Mollat, Paris, 1921.

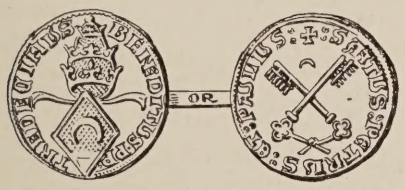


Fig. 87. Coin of Benedict XIII. (1/1.) From Baluzius, *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium*, ed. Mollat, Paris, 1921.

As besides these examples, there exists a coin[2] with a circular shield surmounted by the tiara (Fig. 86), the conclusion may be arrived at that Clement VII used his arms in all the different ways which heraldic ingenuity is capable of inventing.

Boniface IX returns to the use of the tiara alone above his shield as can be seen on a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Fig. 140)[3], on the morse holding the cope of the Pope and on the throne of the statue in San Paolo fuori le mura, while a mosaic slab in St John Lateran shows plain shields with the checky bend of his arms (see Fig. 34).

The anti-pope Benedict XIII, Pedro de Luna, has a coin[4] with a lozenge of his arms ensigned by a tiara (Fig. 87). The seal of the University of St Andrews (1413) shows a plain shield of his arms, the last example of the use of a shield *sans timbre* by any Pope, except in the cases where the shield of the Pope is placed side by side with that of the Papacy, which occurs until Innocent VIII's reign. In the cathedral of Bourges the arrangement of Benedict's arms corresponds to that of Clement VII's, but while the white keys were surrounded by red glass in the case of Clement, in Benedict's case they are in a blue field, a change evidently due merely to a desire for contrast with the colour of the shield (Fig. 88). A silver reliquary at Zaragoza has the shield

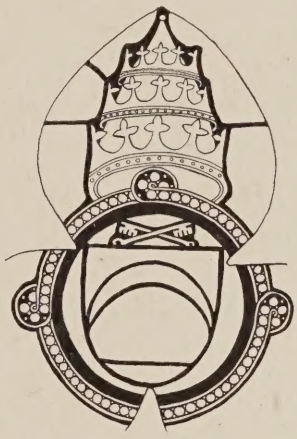


Fig. 88. Arms of Benedict XIII from a window in the cathedral of Bourges.

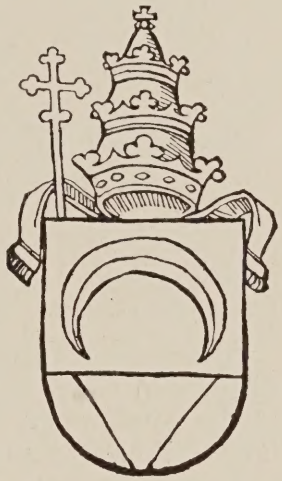


Fig. 89. Arms of Benedict XIII from the Book of the Council of Constance. The lines in the base are a mistake of the engraver, who seems to have prepared his block for the arms of Gregory XII (see Fig. 142).

1 Archivio Reale di Stato, Torino. *Chablais m.* 3 *Galliard* 10, 16 Aug. 1393. Cp. *A.H.S.* 1924, p. 151.

2 In the Musée Calvet at Avignon. See Baluzius, *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium*, ed. Mollat, Paris, 1921–28, I. p. 595.

3 *Vat. lat.* 3747.

4 Ser. I. xv. 1. See Baluzius, ed. Mollat, *op. cit.* I. p. 597.

surmounted by a tiara and supported by two kneeling angels[1]. The Book of the Council of Constance gives Benedict's shield[2] surmounted by the tiara and with a processional cross placed behind it (Fig. 89), while Gregory XII's arms[3] are given similarly, but with the patriarchal cross of two crossbars (Fig. 142), and a very extraordinary cross with four crossbars appears above Benedict XIII's shield on a keystone in the cathedral of Carpentras.

In the only known example of the arms of Innocent VII (a fresco at Todi) the shield is surmounted by the keys and tiara (Fig. 141).

Fig. 90. Arms of the Church, of John XXIII as Pope and as cardinal after his deposition. From his monument in the Baptistery in Florence.

Alexander V's arms appear in the company of those of Clement VII and Benedict XIII in the windows of the cathedral of Bourges. The shield shows a chief gules, charged with the silver crossed keys, and is surmounted by a tiara and supported by five flying angels (Fig. 143).

On coins[4], and on his monument in the Florence Baptistery (Fig. 90), John XXIII has the shield of his arms ensigned by the tiara only. The many examples of this type mentioned above show that this is not, as Woodward supposed, a sign of a dead or deposed Pope but merely the older usage stubbornly holding out.

As a summary of the period we have been studying, we can say that the Popes made use of an achievement of their personal arms at least as early as the reign of Urban IV, but that the earliest existing contemporaneous examples of such achievements are from the reign of Boniface VIII.

At first nothing but the plain shield is used, although a desire for better identification is shown in a few rare examples by grouping the shields with the tiara, the pavilion or the keys. During the pontificate of John XXII the shield is surmounted by the tiara, a usage which continues until the end of the Great Schism and even beyond.

Under Benedict XII the shield is surmounted by a pair of crossed keys, and after his reign the shield with tiara and keys combined in various positions is usual until the end of the century; from and including Urban V's reign, the keys, and from Clement VI's reign the tiara and keys, also appear in a chief gules added to the Pope's personal coat. The present system of surmounting the shield with the crossed keys and tiara began at Avignon and dates from 1348 when the Palace of Clement VI was finished[5], but it must be remembered that as each new usage developed, it was merely added to the existing ones, so that the variety to be found at the end of the period is absolutely bewildering.

Supporters, crosses and badges are rare. The two small human figures supporting the shield of Clement VI at Avignon seem to be the first of the former. Two flying cherubim and two angels appear as supporters in the arms of Urban V, while subsequently Clement VII has at times one or two angels, in another case an eagle and a pair of leopards, supporting his coat, and Benedict XIII makes use of two kneeling angels. Behind the shields of Benedict XIII and Gregory XII there are processional crosses, with either a single crossbar, two crossbars or even four crossbars. As for badges, apart from the keys and tiara which are, both singly and jointly, continuously used as such, a badge-like use of part of the arms on coins and on the leaden *bullae*, roses for Clement VI and Gregory XI[6], an eagle's head for Urban VI[7], a star for Innocent VII[8] and a crescent for Benedict XIII[9] etc., is all that is found.

1 Mayer, *Gotik in Spanien*, Leipsic, 1928, p. 1.
2 Richental, fol. xcvi v.
3 *Ibid.* xcvi r.
4 Ser. I. xv. 8; I. xv. 15.
5 Labande, *op. cit.* p. 30. Its invention may be attributed to the papal architect Jean de Lubières.
6 Ser. I. K. 10; L. 3.
7 Ser. I. L. 4.
8 Ser. I. L. 6; I. xiv. 16, 17.
9 Ser. I. xv. 1.

CHAPTER VI

THE ARMORIAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE POPES FROM MARTIN V TO ALEXANDER VI

THE 14th century was a period of exuberant heraldic growth. At its beginning, the achievements of arms of the Popes consisted merely of the family shield, the simplest possible expression of heraldry, whereas by the end of the Great Schism every imaginable type of decorative adjunct had been invented. The 15th century shows a reduction of variety, notwithstanding a remarkable increase in the use of papal arms and a great improvement of their quality. The arms of nearly all the 15th-century Popes are fairly frequently encountered, those of Sixtus IV for instance being extremely numerous, while some of the marble reliefs of the arms of Paul II, of Pius II, and of Sixtus IV have probably never been surpassed in artistic value. We will therefore leave the chronologically descriptive method and analyse the papal achievements of arms piece by piece.

Fig. 91. Seal of the Indulgence for the Crusade under Innocent VIII. (1/1.)

All through this century, the shield contains the family arms of the Pope, with the sole exception of Nicholas V who, from a kind of humility which in the following century would certainly have been considered excessive, bore nothing but the keys of St Peter.

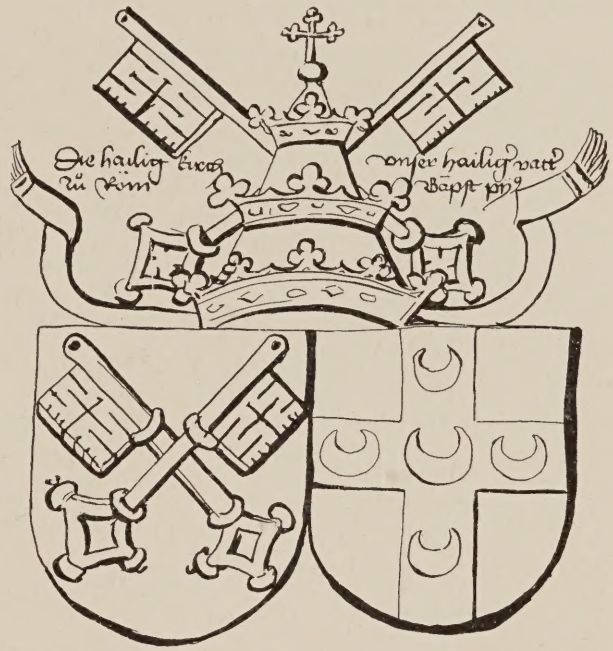


Fig. 92. Arms of Pius II from the *Pfälzer Wappenbuch* belonging to the *Tiroler Adelsmatrikelgenossenschaft* at Innsbruck.

Sixtus IV is thought to have adopted the coat of the Piedmontese family of Rovere, counts of Vinovo, *Azure an oak-tree uprooted gold*, instead of the green oak-tree which the Savona family are said to have borne, yet this green oak-tree with gold acorns does occur occasionally. The coffin-shaped shield which, with elaborately scalloped edges, becomes the most characteristic one of Italian heraldry, first makes its

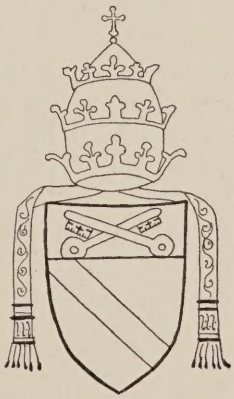


Fig. 93. Arms of Eugenius IV from MS *Urbin. lat.* 1425 in the Vatican Library.

appearance on the tomb of Martin V in St John Lateran.

Of the many medieval methods of marshalling the arms of the Church with the arms of the Pope, the oldest one, that of placing side by side the shield with the keys and the shield of the Pontiff, is still employed by most of the Popes until Innocent VIII (Fig. 91). Sometimes the shields are left without a "timbre," at other times the tiara, or the tiara and keys, surmounts either the family shield or both together (Fig. 92).

Fig. 94. Arms of Paul II from MS *Vat. lat.* 261 in the Vatican Library.

The accounts of the Popes[1] show frequent references to *armis Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Papae et Ecclesiae*, and though the exact arrangement of the arms does not appear there, the numerous examples of a juxtaposition of the two coats on two separate banners and hangings, or on furniture, make it probable that all these cases refer to a similar placing of two shields. It is impossible to say whether the *arma Ecclesiae* in these cases are simply the keys of St Peter or the keys surmounted by the tiara. The former seems to be more probable, and the only certain case where the shield with the tiara and keys flanks the shield of the Pope is to be found on the base of the statue of Martin V in the cathedral of Milan.

The artist's fancy is responsible for the only case of quartered arms of Pope and Papacy. In a late 15th-century painting of St Bridget by the Master of the Heilsbronn altar, in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, the arms of Pope Urban V are given as a quartered shield: 1st and 4th, Grimoard; 2nd, *gules two crossed keys silver*; 3rd, *gules, the letters SPQR in bend sinister gold*; that is, the arms of the Pope's family, of the Papacy and of the City of Rome.

Fig. 95. *Photo Anderson.* Arms of Paul II from his monument. Museum Petrianum.

The adjunction of a chief of the Papacy to the personal arms of the Pontiff occurs under most of the 15th-century Popes. The earlier coat of the Papacy, *Gules a pair of crossed keys silver*, which was used by the 14th-century

1 Müntz XV, passim.

Popes, reappears in a Vatican Library MS of the reign of Eugenius IV (Fig. 93)[1] as well as in the arms of Calixtus III and Pius II in the frescoes of the Hall of Notaries at Perugia. A manuscript of Paul II has *a chief gules with a gold and a silver key crossed and connected by a gold chain* (Fig. 94)[2]. In the Hall of the Notaries at Perugia, the paintings of the arms of the Popes from Martin V to Alexander VI show all their achievements, except those of Calixtus III and Pius II mentioned above, with *a chief gules charged with two silver keys and a silver and gold tiara* added to their personal arms, an additional proof that it was this coat, and no longer the one with the keys, which was then generally considered to be the arms of the Papacy.

Carved examples of the papal shields with the chief of the Papacy (usually the tiara and keys) are not uncommon. At Viterbo, a shield of Martin V dated 1420 shows this emblem of the Papacy above the Colonna column (Fig. 97)[3], and similar shields, but with the chief outlined, appear on his tomb in the Lateran. Felix V, the field of whose arms is gules, adds an azure chief with gold keys on a keystone in the abbey cloisters at St Maurice d'Agaune, which seems to have retained, at least in part, its original colouring (Fig. 147). Of Pius II's arms we have a fine stone relief in the Museo Civico at San Gimignano, where the tiara and keys are placed across the head of the Piccolomini cross. Two superb carved shields of this type with the arms of Paul II from his monument are now in the Museum Petrianum (Fig. 95) and one of Sixtus IV on the Palazzo del Senatore (Fig. 98). Sixtus IV also uses the chief with the tiara and keys on shields on the *cantoria* (Fig. 96), on the candelabrum of the Sistine Chapel and in the castle of Sant' Angelo. Innocent VIII, though his arms show already a chief, adds to it the chief of the Papacy on the ciborium by Mino da Fiesole in the church of the SS. Quattro Coronati and on a relief in the Piazza of Spoleto. Alexander VI has the chief in bas-reliefs above the gate of the Swiss Guard and in the Campo di Fiori, on several corbels in the Borgia Apartments, on the outside of the cathedral and on a holy-water stoup in the church of the Servites at Orvieto. The line

Fig. 96. *Photo Anderson.* Arms of Sixtus IV from the Cantoria in the Sistine Chapel.

1 *Urbin. lat.* 1425.
2 *Vat. lat.* 261.
3 Scriattoli, *op. cit.* p. 69. There appears to be no line of demarcation of the chief.

of the chief is sometimes curved like a brace.

A chief gules with a tiara only is added to the Piccolomini arms on a crosier presented by Pius II to one of his favourite foundations, the cathedral of Pienza, apparently the sole example of this usage (Fig. 99). A rather rude stone relief of the arms of Paul II at Perugia, near the Maestà delle Volte, has a tiara placed in the chief of the shield without any line of demarcation.

Mention must also be made of a rather archaic type of coin[1] of Eugenius IV which

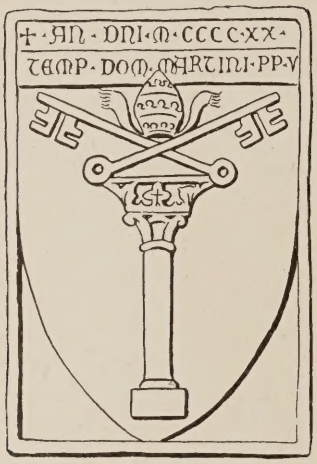


Fig. 97. Arms of Martin V from the city wall near the Porta Romana, Viterbo.

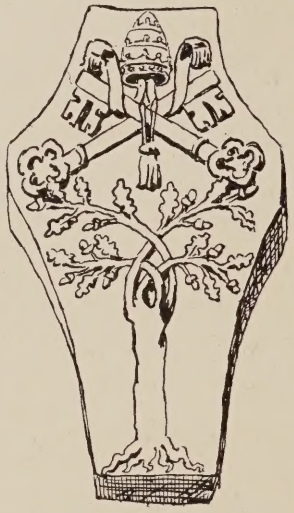


Fig. 98. Arms of Sixtus IV from the Palazzo del Senatore, Rome.

shows a small shield of his arms placed above the crossed keys, a type-survival of the previous century. In the same way the arms of Sixtus IV on the wonderful Flemish Franciscan tapestry in the treasury of S. Francesco at Assisi, where the shield has two gold keys placed behind it, but no tiara, have a rather archaic look.

The original "timbre" of the Popes, the tiara, continues to be placed by itself above the shield by all of the Pontiffs from Martin V to Sixtus IV. This use, which may be considered a survival from the previous century, is not common, and it is replaced by the

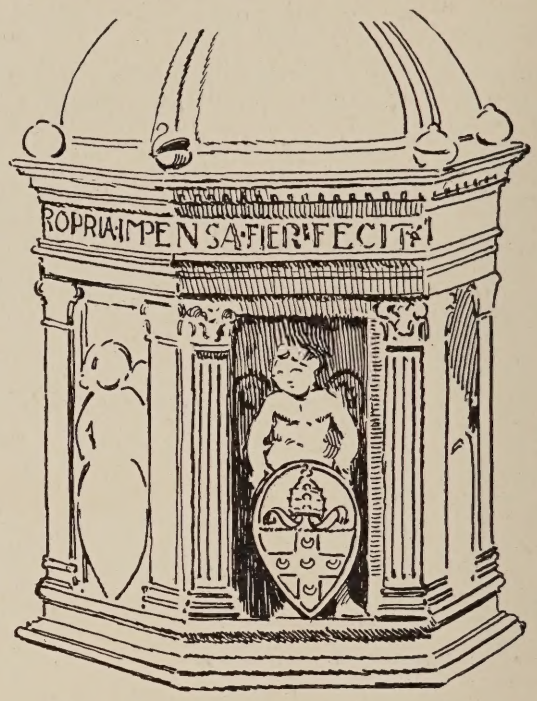


Fig. 99. Knob of crosier in the cathedral at Pienza, with arms of Pius II.

Fig. 100. Arms of Felix V on a candlestick in the abbey of St Maurice d'Agaune.

Fig. 101. Arms of Eugenius IV in MS *Vat. lat.* 676 in the Vatican Library.

tiara and keys crossed above the shield, by far the most frequent method of crowning the arms of the Popes during this period[2]. In the coinage, which is always conservative, the tiara

1 Ser. I. xvii. 3.

2 Nicholas V, who bore a pair of crossed keys in his personal shield, almost invariably used only the tiara above the shield. The only example where this shield is surmounted by the tiara *and* keys is to be seen on his monument as preserved for us in the drawings of Grimaldi and an engraving in Ciacconius (ed. 1677, II. col. 967). See also Mann, *Tombs and Portraits*, p. 73.

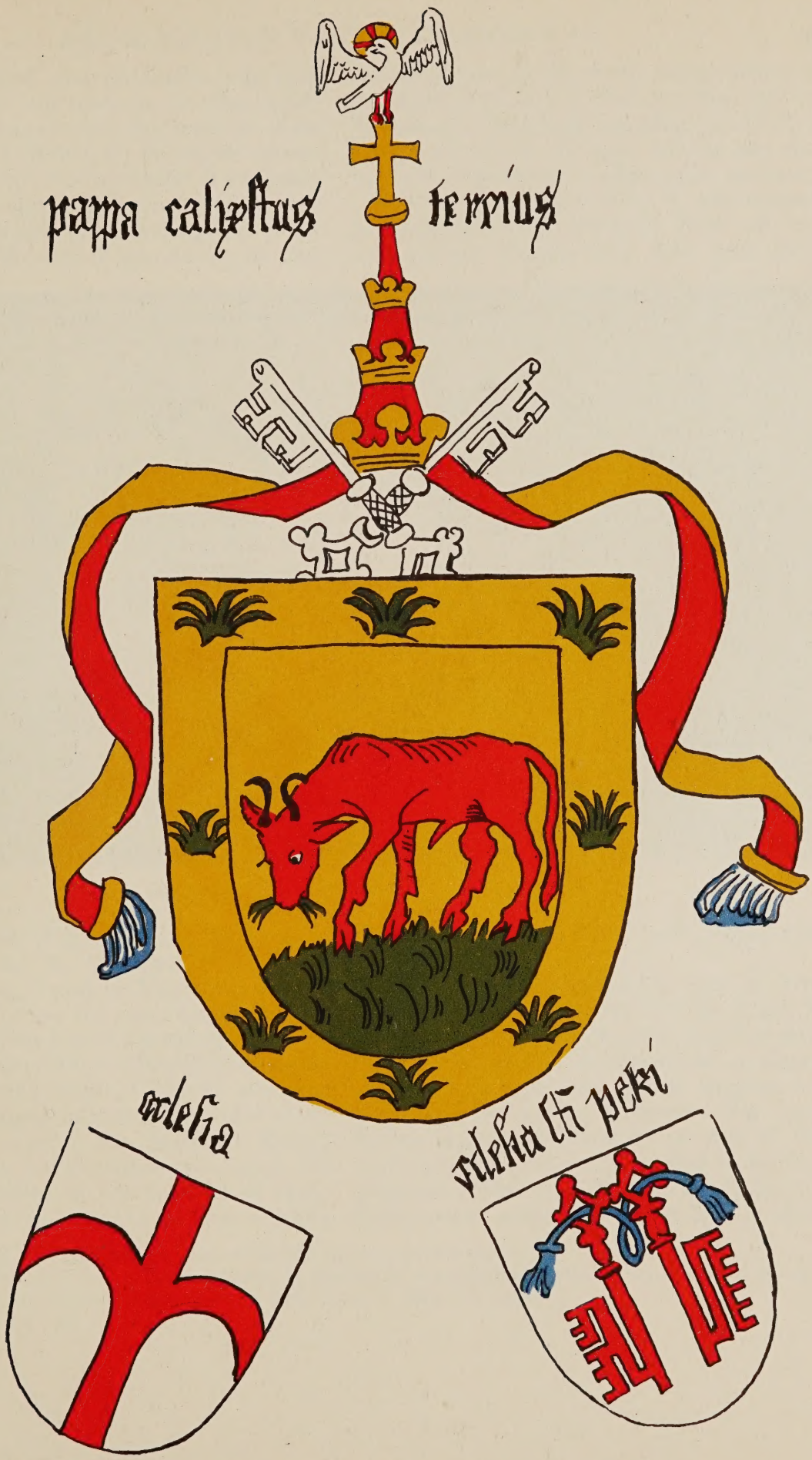


Plate III. Arms of Calixtus III from Hans Ingeram's book of arms. 1459.

and keys, crossed *above* the shield, hold their own all through the century. In other representations of papal arms, the position of the keys is slowly modified, for during the second half of the century they sink more or less *behind* the top of the shield. The arms of Felix V on a silver candlestick presented by him to the abbey of St Maurice d'Agaune are the first example of this (Fig. 100), and the arms of Calixtus III on the bas-relief of the Ponte Molle (Fig. 151) and in Ingeram's book of arms (Pl. III) show the same tendency. The keys are definitely placed behind the shield on a medal by A. Guazalotti of Pius II, dated 1460, and in a fine manuscript of Paul II published by Pasini-Frassoni[1] as well as on a relief of the same Pope's arms in San Marco in Rome; the numerous achievements of Sixtus IV show this position in the majority of cases. From this time on, a part of the keys is nearly always covered by the shield, but generally it is a small part only, a fact doubtless due to the unhappy effect achieved when the shield is placed directly on the keys, leaving only the wards and handles protruding at the corners[2].

With the exception of Felix V, who cannot be considered a Renaissance Pope, all the 15th-century Pontiffs have their arms supported by the putti, clad or nude, dear to the Renaissance.

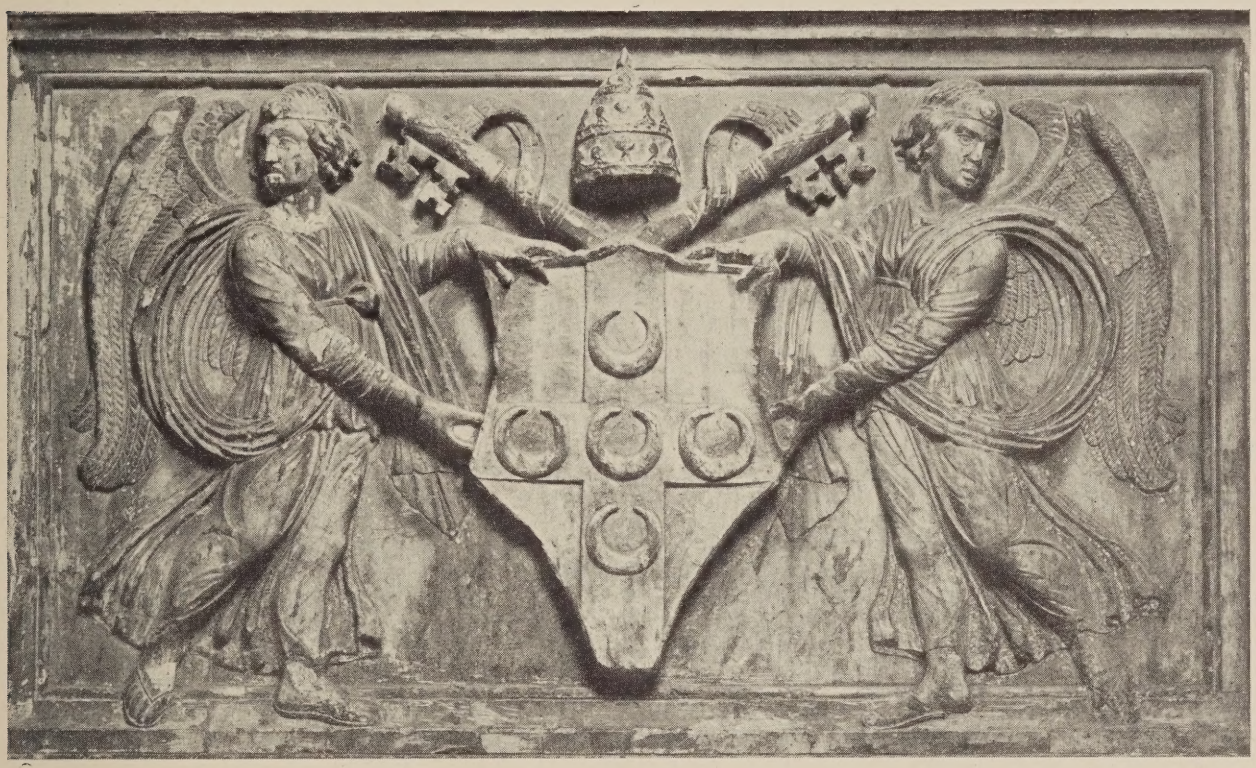


Fig. 102. *Photo Anderson.* Arms of Pius II in the Sacristy of St Peter's.

Angels are also frequently used as supporters (Fig. 102). In the *Livre des Ladres* at Geneva[3], Felix V has his arms, together with those of the Empire, supported by an angel, and two curious little angels support his shield on a keystone at St Maurice (Fig. 147). In an interesting bas-relief on one of the Piccolomini palaces at Siena, Pius II has four supporters (Fig. 104); the tiara is held by two flying putti, while two angels hold a cloth

1 Pasini, p. 30. The reference number of the MS there given is incorrect.

2 Eugenius IV introduces a pleasant variation by placing the crossed silver keys in one case (MS *Vat. lat.* 227) beside the tiara, and in another case (*Vat. lat.* 676) above it (Figs. 106 and 101).

3 *A.H.S.* 1919, p. 148.

under the shield, recalling the representations of the soul being carried to heaven. At other times one or two angels act as supporters for the other Popes of this period.

The custom of surrounding the shield by a garland of foliage, which the supporters hold instead of the shield itself, first makes its appearance on the tomb of Martin V, where however the garland contains not a shield but merely the column of the Colonna surmounted by the tiara and keys (Fig. 103). This arrangement is characteristic of the earlier Renaissance and disappears under Julius II.

Innocent VIII and Alexander VI seem to be the only Popes of the 15th century to make use of family badges. The peacock of the Cibo appears on the commander's staff presented to Roberto Sanseverino, on the sword given to the Landgrave William of Hesse[1], and with the motto *léauté passe tout* on the frescoes of Innocent's Belvedere in the Vatican.

Innumerable examples of the ox or bull and the double crown of the Borgia may be seen in the Borgia Apartments, and the latter badges surround the shield of arms on tiles in the castle of Sant' Angelo (Fig. 105). The often quoted well-head in the same place (Figs. 52 and 53) shows the double crown quartered with a field party of flames silver and gules, another Borgia ensign, while Alexander VI's livery colours, green and red, serve as a background for his arms in that store-house of heraldry, the Borgia Apartments.

Fig. 103. *Photo Anderson.* Detail from the tomb of Martin V in St John Lateran.

The artists' imagination is responsible for some interesting variants from the usual heraldic arrangements. The Book of the Council of Constance (Fig. 145) shows the shield of Martin V surmounted by a tiara behind which appear the crossed keys, while at each side is a dove of the Holy Ghost holding in its beak a ribbon intended for an inscription[2].

A book of arms at St Gall gives the arms of Paul II still more elaborately arranged (Pl.

1 Modern, *op. cit.*

2 Richental, fol. liii v.

V). They are surmounted by a tiara tipped with a dove of the Holy Ghost, and surrounded by four shields, one of the papal arms with the keys only, one of the Church with a red cross on a white ground, one of the City of Rome, and one of the chapter of St Peter's. At each

Fig. 104. *Photo Alinari.* Arms of Pius II. Siena, Via di Città.

side a sword is placed, the sword of Jurisdiction and that of Power (*potestas*).

In a fine manuscript[1] of the Vatican Library, Eugenius IV has his shield surmounted by a tiara, flanked on the dexter by a pair of crossed silver keys and on the sinister side by the head of a processional cross set upright behind the shield (Fig. 106).

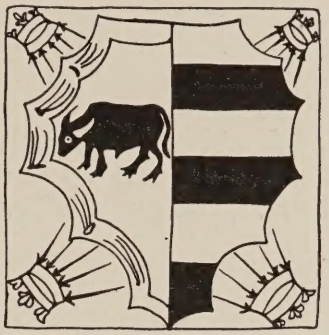


Fig. 105. Tile with the arms of Alexander VI. Castle of Sant' Angelo, Rome.

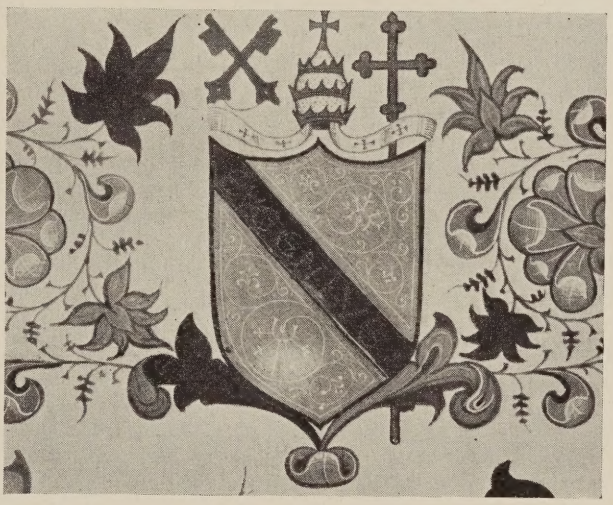


Fig. 106. Arms of Eugenius IV from MS *Vat. lat.* 227 in the Vatican Library.

Apart from the cases of Benedict XIII and Gregory XII, which were mentioned in the preceding chapter, this appears to be the only example of the use of the processional cross during the 15th century.

1 *Vat. lat.* 227.

CHAPTER VII

THE ARMORIAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE POPES FROM PIUS III TO PIUS XI

THE period from Pius III (1503) to the present day can best be divided into two parts of which the first, ending with the Pontificate of Innocent XIII (1724), is the time of the greatest simplicity, or at any rate of the least variation in the ordering of the papal arms. During these two centuries, the shields contain almost invariably nothing but the family arms of the Pontiff. Of the thirty Popes whose reigns fall within this period, only three[1] prove an exception to this rule, namely Julius II and Paul III[2], who once in their respective reigns use the chief of the Papacy with the tiara and keys, and Alexander VII

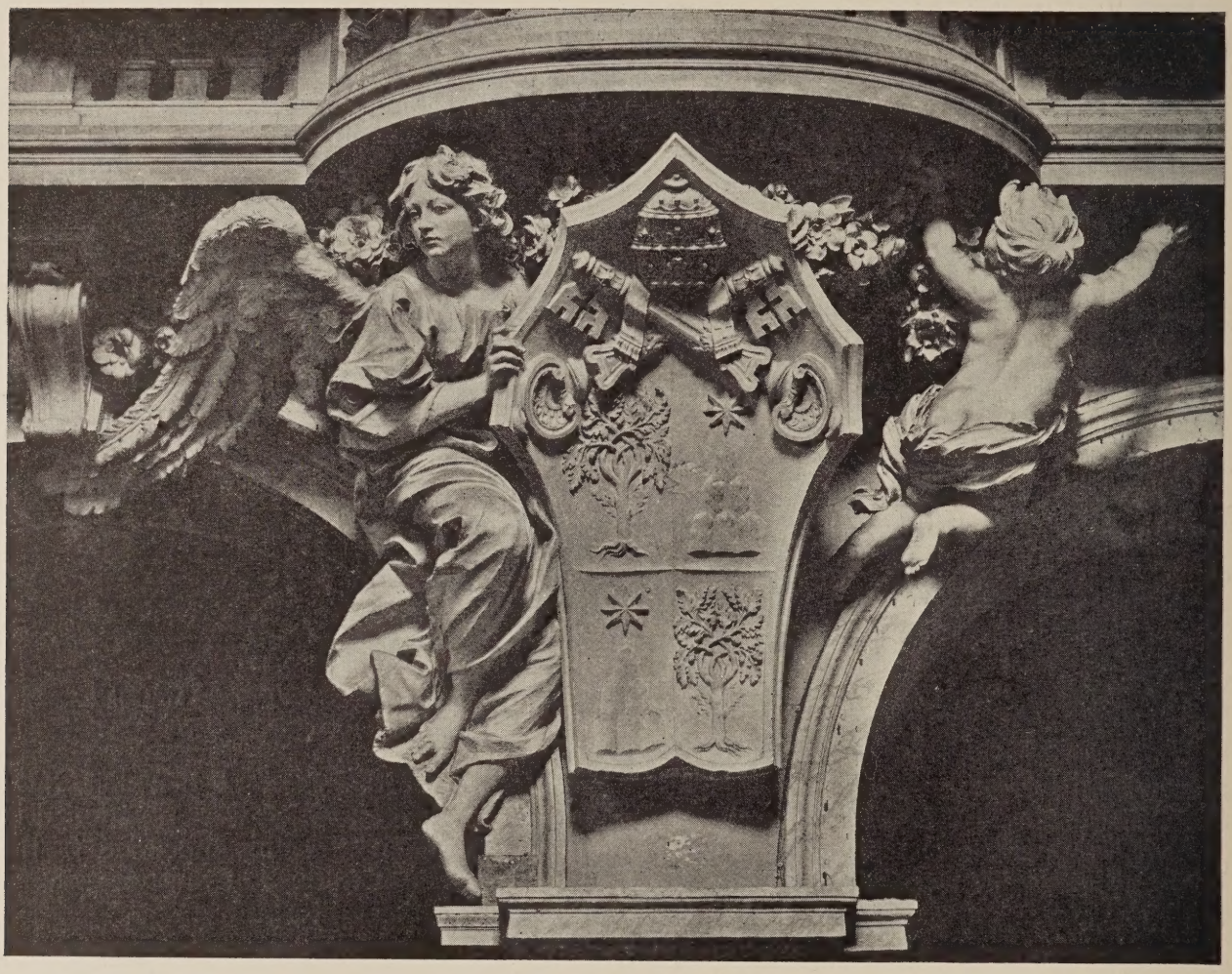


Fig. 107. *Photo Anderson.* Arms of Alexander VII in Sta Maria del Popolo.

1 Strictly speaking Pius IV should be added to these, as he bore not the arms of his own family, but those of the Florentine Medici to which he had no right whatever (see p. 93). Cp. also Pius V, p. 94.

2 Both on bas-reliefs in the castle of Sant' Angelo.

who, while sometimes using the Chigi arms alone and at other times quartering them with the Rovere arms granted to Agostino Chigi by Julius II, in a very beautiful stucco achievement in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, places the tiara and keys in the chief of his quartered shield without a line of delimitation (Fig. 107).

The "timbre" is almost invariably the tiara above the crossed keys. These latter are generally crossed behind the upper part of the shield, but not infrequently the shield is placed directly on them, and occasionally the older custom of setting both keys and tiara well above the top of the shield is also found.

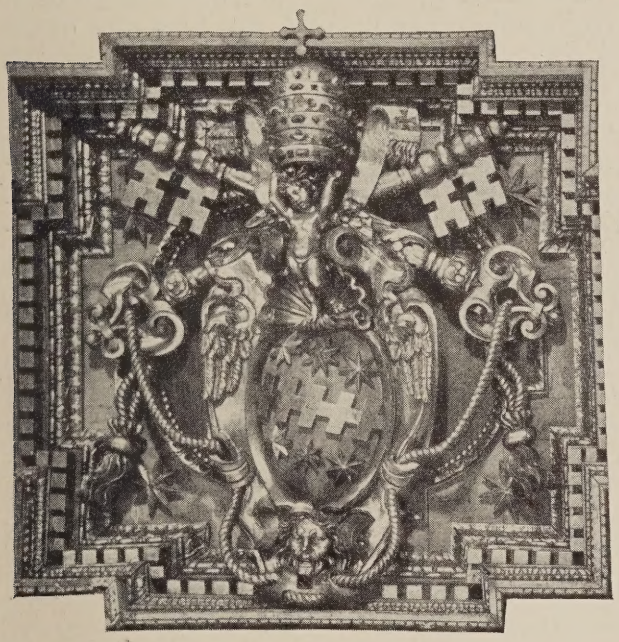


Fig. 108. *Photo Alinari.* Arms of Clement VIII in the ceiling of the Sala del Concistorio of the Vatican.

At times an angel's head, sometimes wearing the tiara, is placed in the decorative cartouche surrounding the shield, and in the ceiling of the Sala del Concistorio of the Vatican, an achievement of Clement VIII shows a putto holding a tiara while standing on the shield (Fig. 108).

The triple cross is used very rarely excepting in France where heraldic engravers such as the Chevillards[1] usually placed one, and even two, triple crosses behind the Pope's shield. In Italy, Clement VII and Sixtus V appear to be the only Popes who placed it behind their shields, and that only in one or two cases. Under these same two Popes one also finds the pavilion used as a "timbre," for in the painting of a diploma granted to Sixtus V by the Venetian Doge Pasquale Cicogna[2], the shield of the Pope is surmounted by the tiara and keys above which appears the triple cross

Fig. 109. Arms of Clement VII. Miniature in a service book of the Sistine Chapel. From Pasini-Frassoni, *Essai d'Armorial des Papes*, Rome, 1906.

under the pavilion, and in a miniature in the service books of the Sistine Chapel[3], Clement VII has above his arms a pavilion out of which comes a mantle upheld by flying putti (Fig. 109), evidently a parallel to the mantle coming out of a crown used by other sovereigns at the same period. Another Medici Pope, probably Leo XI, also has the mantle encompassing a shield with the tiara

1 *Chronologie des Papes par J. Chevillard*, Paris (1698 and 1721). Huge folio sheets, entirely engraved.
2 Pasini, p. 39.
3 *Ibid.* p. 34.

and keys, but without the pavilion[1], and a red mantle, probably merely decorative, is held by putti behind the arms of Leo X in Raphael's tapestries in the Vatican (Fig. 110). One of the medals[2] of Clement VII shows his arms placed on a large Maltese cross to commemorate the fact that he had been a knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem (Fig. 161).

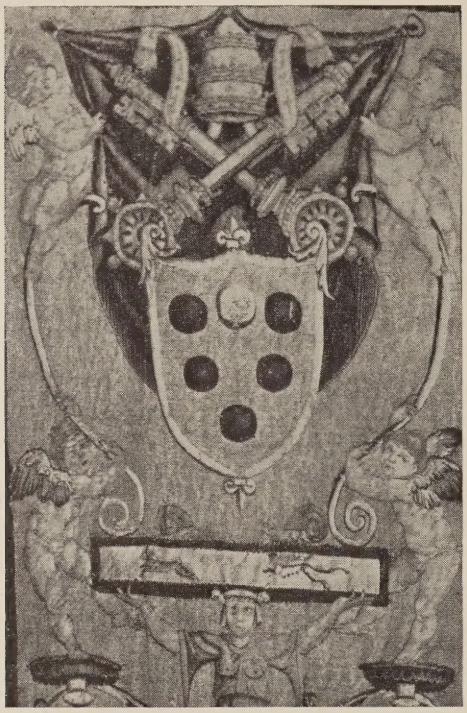


Fig. 110. *Photo Anderson.* Arms of Leo X from one of Raphael's tapestries in the Vatican.

There is the greatest variety in the use of supporters during this period, though putti or amorini and angels are the most frequent. In Michael Angelo's sculpture on the Porta Pia, Pius IV has for supporters two angels holding swords, while the supporters of Julius III in the Palazzo Spada are two youths. Allegorical figures are not uncommon; in a woodcut from his official publications the arms of Pius IV are flanked by Peace and Plenty (Fig. 112)[3]. On the title-page of the *Bullarium* of 1617 the arms of Paul V similarly show Justice and Mercy, while Clement VII has Justice and Truth seated beside his arms[4]. The most remarkable examples of supporters appear in connection with the arms of Leo X and of Paul III; on a coin[5] and on a carved wood panel (Fig. 111), the shield of the former is supported by two cupids and two lions, whereas on a house in the Via Giulia, the arms of the latter are flanked by two seated unicorns, the Farnese badge and crest, with their backs turned to the shield.

The use as supporters of the Saints Peter and Paul seems to have originated in the printing-offices of the Apostolic Chamber[6]. The earlier printed documents of the Popes, from Julius II to Pius IV, show only the papal arms, but under Pius V the papal achievement begins to be flanked by two small oval medallions containing the figures of the Apostles generally full-length, but sometimes shown only from the waist rising out of clouds. Little by little the surrounding medallions are dispensed with, and the Saints appear as independent figures at a little distance from the coat of arms. Finally under Sixtus V they are found standing or sitting on the compartment which sustains the achievement of arms and have become genuine heraldic supporters (Fig. 113). This latter usage continues all through the period we are treating.

Badges are used by Julius II, Leo X, Paul III, Julius III, Sixtus V, Clement VIII, Urban VIII, Innocent X, and Alexander VII. Branches of the Rovere oak-tree appear in the banners and on the scabbard of the sword presented by Julius II to the Swiss in 1511, while the Medici family badges, the yoke, the diamond ring, the three feathers, together with Leo X's lion and his livery colours white, red and green and the Pucci moor's head can be seen on the Della Robbia pavement-tiles in the castle of Sant' Angelo, the Borgia Apartments and the Industrial Museum at Rome[7]. Rings and falcons with the motto "Semper" are painted in a room in the Vatican (next to

1 Corner of the Via de' Servi, Florence.
2 *A.P.C.* 1914, p. 83.
3 *A.P.C.* 1914, p. 719.
4 Pasini, p. 34.
5 Ser. I. xxx. 19.
6 *A.P.C.* 1914, pp. 720 ff.
7 Marquand, *Robbia Heraldry*, Princeton and London, 1919, pp. 208, 232.

Julius II's bedroom). The Farnese unicorns of Paul III, which have been mentioned above, appear on friezes and on ceilings in the castle of Sant' Angelo, and three natural lilies, with a rainbow above and the motto "ΔΙΚΗ ΣΚΡΙΙΝΟΝ," together with two unicorns, are carved on the shutters of the Sala di Constantino in the Vatican and on the ceiling of the Sala di Amore e Psiche in the castle of Sant' Angelo (Fig. 164).

Julius III, Sixtus V, Clement VIII and Innocent X have the component parts of their arms used individually as badges. The triple mounts and laurel branches of the del Monte may be seen in the courtyard of the Palazzo Spada; the lion under a bendlet, the white triple mount, and the pear branch of Sixtus V occur in different combinations in the Lateran Palace; the stars and the battled bend of the Aldobrandini appear on the ceiling of the Sala del Concistorio in the Vatican and the dove of the Pamphili in St Peter's; finally the star and sextuple mount of the Chigi are frequently used as badges on Alexander VII's buildings, for instance on the top of the obelisk in the Piazza della Minerva and on the Porta del Popolo. Three Barberini badges, a sun within the circle of a snake biting its tail, an oak-tree, and a mermaid with two fish-tails, surround the arms of Urban VIII on the carved oak cases in the Vatican Archives.

With Benedict XIII begins what we may call the modern period. The principal new development is the addition by the Popes, who were members of the regular clergy, of the arms of their Order to the family coat. Of their predecessors, Paul IV had been a Theatine, Pius V a Dominican, and Sixtus V a Franciscan, but none of them had indicated their religious family in their achievements. Now, however, Benedict XIII adds a chief of the Dominican Order to his arms which were party of Orsini and Gravina (Fig. 114), Clement XIV places the arms of the Franciscans in a chief above his own (Fig. 189), and Pius VII, a Benedictine, parts his shield of the arms of his Order and of the Chiaramonti coat (Fig. 115). Gregory XVI, who belonged to the Camaldolese Order, followed the same usage and placed the beautiful coat of that Order in the dexter part of his shield and his own arms in the sinister (see Fig. 192). Pius VI may be considered to have introduced a heraldic novelty by replacing the three roses of his paternal coat by a head of Boreas blowing on a lily (Fig. 116). Pius VII and Leo XII are the only Popes of this period to add the tiara and keys to their shields; in the Sala Ducale of the Vatican, an achievement of the former shows the arms of the

Fig. 111. *Photo Moscioni.* Carved wood panel with the arms of Leo X.

Papacy (in the chief), above those of the Benedictine Order (dexter), parted with the Chiaramonti arms (sinister). Leo XII places the tiara and keys in the chief of his shield in a mosaic on the façade of the cathedral at Orvieto.

Cardinals have frequently placed in their shields the arms of the Pope to whom they owed their elevation and this custom left its traces in the arms of one Pope, Benedict XIV, who in some cases used the full coat he had borne as a cardinal, that is parted dexter, the coat of Benedict XIII (Orsini and Gravina with the chief of the Order of St Dominic), and sinister, Lambertini. This coat is said to

Fig. 112. Arms of Pius IV. Woodcut from an official publication. From the *Annuaire Pontifical Catholique*, 1914.

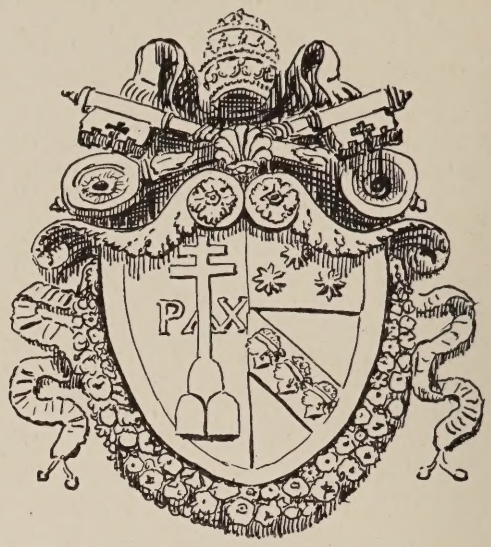


Fig. 115. Arms of Pius VII from the base of the obelisk in the Pincio Gardens, Rome.

Fig. 113. Arms of Sixtus V from an official publication.

Fig. 116. Book-plate of the Vatican Library with the arms of Pius VI and of the librarian Cardinal Zelada.

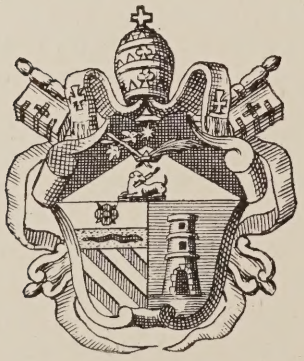


Fig. 114. Arms of Benedict XIII from an engraved portrait.

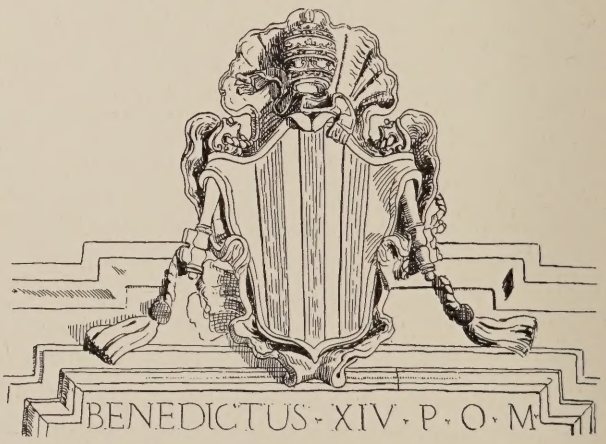


Fig. 117. Arms of Benedict XIV on a house in the Via della Stamperia, Rome.

appear on some of his coins[1], though he usually bore only the pales of his own family coat.

The tiara and keys appear invariably above the shield, the keys generally disappearing behind the chief, but sometimes placed above and occasionally behind the shield itself. However an achievement of Benedict XIV, in the Via della Stamperia, shows his shield surmounted by the tiara and flanked by the keys placed perpendicularly and parallel to it (Fig. 117). Supporters have become very rare, though the figures of the two Apostles continue to be used in official printed documents. Under Leo XIII a return is to be noticed to the earlier practice of placing the figures of the Apostles beside the papal achievement, but at such a distance that they can no longer be claimed as supporters; even this restricted use only appears in certain publications of the Cardinal-Vicar[2] and on the *Decreta S. Congreg. Rituum*. Still, Clement XII, on the façade of the Consulta, has his shield supported by two angels blowing trumpets (Fig. 187); Benedict XIV in the church of Sta Maria Maggiore, and Leo XIII[3] in St Peter's (Cappella del Choro) have two putti for supporters, and Pius X, on a book-plate[4] presented to him by the Collegio Araldico which he does not appear to have used, has the figures of Faith and Charity flanking his arms.

Benedict XV apparently wished to add a chief of the Order of St John to his arms in memory of his connection with that Order, but was dissuaded by his advisers[5].

Neither crosses nor badges are any longer in use. The papal achievement is therefore reduced to the simple combination of the shield with the "timbre" of the tiara and keys.

1 I have been unable to find an example of this use.

2 *Inviti et Avvisi Sacri.*

3 The arms of Leo XIII on the cover and frontispiece of Fumi and Lisini's *Genealogia dei Conti Pecci* show the Pope's family shield placed *sur le tout* of an elaborate quartered shield of other Pecci arms, and two angels as supporters.

4 Ghelli, *3500 Ex Libris Italiani*, Milan, 1908, pl. XCV.

5 *Riv. Ar.* 1923, p. 292.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GONFALONIERS

The first standard-bearer of the Church mentioned by historians is William of Montreuil, the Good Norman[1], who is said by Orderic Vitalis to have been created armed advocate or standard-bearer of the Roman See by Nicholas II in the year 1059. From the very beginning the office seems to have been an honorary one; the command of the papal troops was usually in the hands of a Captain-General, but both offices were at times held by the same person.

The following list of the Gonfaloniers of the Church, a title which finally supplanted the older one of *vexillifer*, is doubtless open to correction as the actual words of the grants are rarely given and authors have frequently been unable to distinguish between the charge of Gonfalonier and that of Captain-General. To the student of history the list may almost serve as an epitome of the annals of the Papacy.

1059—William of Montreuil, the Good Norman.

1066—Erembald, captain of Milan, *Romanae et Universae Ecclesiae Vexillifer*[2].

1118—Stephen the Norman[3], *protector et vexillifer*.

1298—James King of Aragon, *S.R.E. Vexillarius, Amiratus et Capitaneus Generalis*[4].

1353—Frater Monrealis, the head of the Great Company, *Capitaneus Guerrae et Vexillifer Ecclesiae*[5].

1355—Rodolfo Varano, lord of Camerino, *Vexillifer Ecclesiae*, and Captain-General in the March of Ancona[6].

1356—Louis I King of Hungary, Gonfalonier and Captain-General[7].

1368—Niccolo d'Este[8].

137?—John Hawkwood, leader of the White Company[9].

1381—Charles III of Durazzo, King of Naples, *Gonfalonnerius S.R.E.*[10]

1383—Henry le Despencer, Bishop of Norwich[11].

1385—Raimondello Orsini del Balzo[12].

1406—Ladislaus King of Naples, *Defensor, Conservator, Vexillifer*[13].

1409—Louis II of Anjou, King of Naples[14].

1419—Muzio Attendolo detto Sforza[15].

1434—Francesco Sforza[16].

1442—Alfonso V King of Aragon[17].

1457—Pedro-Luis de Borja[18].

1464—Napoleone Orsini[19].

1465—Federico di Montefeltro, Count of Urbino[20].

1485—Roberto Sanseverino[21].

1500—Caesar Borgia[22].

1509—Alfonso I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara[23].

1510—Francesco Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua[24].

1511—Ramon de Cardona[25].

1537—Pier-Luigi Farnese[26].

1546—Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma[27].

1586—Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma[28].

1593—Ranuccio Farnese, Duke of Parma[29].

1622—Odoardo Farnese, Duke of Parma[30].

1 Mann, VI. 245. 2 Greg. IV. 147, n. 3 Greg. IV. 368, n. 4 Greg. V. 514, n. 2.
5 Greg. VI. 347, n. His name was Montréal d'Aubagne.
6 Greg. VI. 381, corrected by Litta, *imp.* "Varano." 7 Moroni, XCVI. 102.
8 Litta, *imp.* "Este." Nicolas V is a misprint for Urban V.
9 Moroni, XXXI. 272. *Capitano e gonfaloniere d. C.R. sotto Gregorio XI.* 10 Greg. VI. 511.
11 Froissart, ed. Buchon, II. 272. 12 Moroni, XCVI. 102. 13 Greg. VI. 565.
14 Moroni, XXXI. 272; XCVI. 102. 15 *Ibid.* 16 Pastor, I. 294.
17 Moroni, XXXI. 272. 18 Greg. VII. 152. 19 Moroni, XCVI. 103.
20 Litta, *imp.* "Montefeltro." Hope (*The Stallplates of the Knights of the Order of the Garter*) gives the year 1464. I have followed the indications of the Vatican Library catalogue of the Urbino MSS.
21 Pastor, V. 256. 22 Pastor, VI. 74. 23 Litta, *imp.* "Este." 24 Pastor, VI. 337.
25 Durrer, "Die Geschenke Papst Julius II an die Eidgenossen," *Wissen und Leben*, I. 251.
26 Pastor, XI. 316. 27 Moroni, XCVI. 103–4. 28 *Ibid.* 104.
29 Moroni, XCVI. 104. 30 *Ibid.*

In 1641 the excommunication of Odoardo Farnese by Urban VIII put an end to the old-established honour of the Gonfaloniership, which was replaced by an entirely different one, that of *Vexillifer equitum levis armaturae custodiae corporis*, also called *Vessilifero generale della guardia di lancie del Papa*. This new office, by a brief of 10th June 1656, *Sincerae fidei et devotionis affectus*, Alexander VII granted to the Marchese Patrizio Polizi[1]. By briefs of identical wording, the same honour was granted by successive Pontiffs to Giovanni-Battista Naro (1668) and to his descendants who later took the name of Naro-Patrizi-Montoro. The wording of the original brief was continued until 1815, when various other forms took its place, and in 1853 Pius IX created the Marchese Filippo Naro *Vessilifero Ereditario di Santa Romana Chiesa*[2], an honour still enjoyed by his descendants.

A statement of Froissart indicates that in 1383 only one banner was presented to the Gonfalonier and that this was the banner of St Peter, which he describes as *de gueules à deux clefs en sautoir d'argent*. The account of the delivery to Muzio Attendolo of the *Pontificalia Insignia* by Giordano Colonna, Martin V's brother[3], may also be considered to indicate merely one banner, either showing the keys alone or the keys and the tiara. In his de-

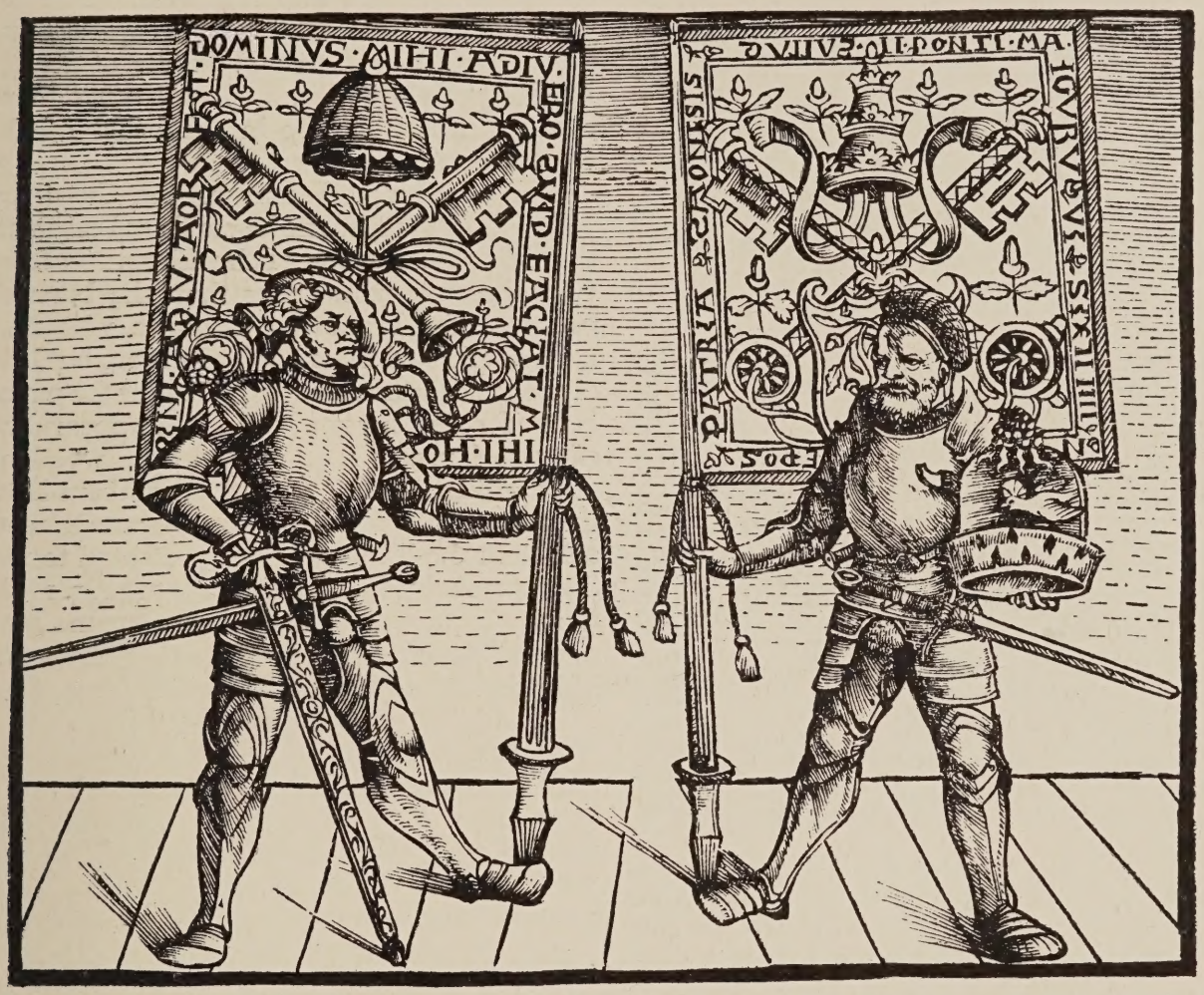


Fig. 118. Banners, sword and hat presented by Julius II to the Swiss. 1512. From Stumpff's Chronicle. Zurich, 1548.

1 Moroni, XCVI. 109. 2 *Ibid.* 116. 3 *Ibid.* 102.

scription of the ceremonies connected with the appointment of Roberto Sanseverino as Gonfalonier in 1485, Burchard in his Commentaries gives us the first mention of two banners[1]. After a mass at the High Altar of St Peter's, the future *vexillifer* took the oath to remain

Fig. 119. Stall-plate of Frederick di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, Gonfalonier of the Church, K.G., 1474. Chapel of St George at Windsor. From Hope, *The Stallplates of the Knights of the Order of the Garter.*

faithful to St Peter, to Holy Church, to the Pope and his canonically elected successors, and to defend their rights, privileges, and authority. Sanseverino was unable to read the form of the oath, *excusans se quia ocularia sua non habebat*, and repeated the words after the Cardinal of Milan. The Pope then placed on the Gonfalonier's head the velvet cap with the dove of the Holy Ghost made of pearls, gave him the silver commander's staff, and finally *vexillum cum armis Ecclesiae, deinde aliud cum armis suis*. Both banners were then turned over to men in armour, but bare-headed, *armati usque ad collum*, who bore them before the Gonfalonier during the subsequent procession through the city. The installation of Caesar Borgia[2], which Burchard tells with even more detail, differed chiefly in the order of the various ceremonies.

The two banners sent to the Swiss by Julius II in 1511, when he conferred on them the title of Defenders of the Liberties of the Church, were none other than the banners prepared for Francesco Gonzaga who had been nominated Gonfalonier in 1510, but had diplomatically avoided appearing at the papal court for his investiture[3]. The appearance of these banners is preserved by a woodcut done in Zurich in 1512; it shows them held by two men in armour, bare-headed, who also hold the hat and sword presented to the Swiss at Christmas of the year 1511 (Fig. 118). On the banner of the Church appear the keys and the pavilion, and on the other the arms of Julius II surmounted by the keys and tiara. The field in both banners is strewn with oak branches, reminiscent of the Rovere arms, and is surrounded in the one case by the inscription "DOMINUS MIHI ADJUTOR, NON TIMEBO QUID FACIAT MIHI HOMO," and in the other by the words "JULIUS II PONT. MAX. LIGURUS SIXTI IV NEPOS PATRIA SAVONENSIS."

Similar banners continued to be borne before the Gonfaloniers until the disappearance of the dignity, but from 1656 on, the banner, properly speaking the standard, borne by, not before, the later *vessiliferi* is a red oblong flag with two tails containing the arms of the reigning Pontiff. Since the time of Pius VII, whose coat contained three stars, the field of the standard is strewn with gold stars[4].

1 *Johannis Burchardi...Diarium sive rerum urbanarum commentarii* (1483–1506), ed. Thuasne, Paris, 1883, I. pp. 164 ff.

2 *Ibid.* III. 26.

3 Durrer, "Die Geschenke Papst Julius II an die Eidgenossen," *Historisches Neujahrsblatt Uri*, 1913; and *Wissen und Leben*, I. 193 ff. Reproduced in Stumpff's Chronicle, fol. 460 v. from a broadside showing the gifts of the Pope to the Swiss. The woodcutter has garbled the inscription on the first banner.

4 Moroni, XCVI. 127.

The dignity of Gonfalonier of the Church carried with it the right to add to the Gonfalonier's family coat of arms, the banner of the Church in the form of a pale of augmentation, *Ecclesiae claves cum vexillis et ornamentis per alios Gonfalonieros gestari solitas, gestandi*, as the bull to Odoardo Farnese has it[1], and the 15th-century examples we have of this usage serve to show that the banner at that time bore the tiara and keys. The stall-plate[2] of Frederick Duke of Urbino as Knight of the Garter (1474) in St George's Chapel at Windsor (Fig. 119) shows the quarterings, Montefeltro and the Empire, divided by *a pale gules, charged with two crossed keys, one gold, one silver, surmounted by the tiara*, and the same arms, with the keys sometimes both silver[3], appear elsewhere, as for instance in the wonderful manuscripts executed for Frederick, now in the Vatican Library.

The development of the coat of the Este family is so complicated that it will be well to discuss it in detail[4]. The original arms are *Azure an eagle silver*, and the grant of the Gonfaloniership to Niccolo d'Este in 1368 made no change in this coat, as the use of the pale of augmentation does not appear to have begun until the succeeding century. Following a grant by King Charles VII of France to Niccolo Marchese d'Este in 1431–32, this original coat was quartered with a variant of the arms of France, *Azure, three fleurs-de-lis gold and a border indented gules and silver*. In 1452 the Emperor Frederick III granted to Borso d'Este the county of Rovigo, and thereafter the first quarter contained, for the Imperial Vicariate, the arms of the Empire, *Gold an eagle sable*; the French augmentation continued to be in the second and third quarters, in the fourth was placed the coat of Rovigo *Party azure and gold, a two-headed eagle party silver and sable*, and the Este family coat was placed *sur le tout*[5]. Sixtus IV, when he renewed the investiture of Ferrara to Ercole I in 1474, granted him the papal keys, to be borne in a pale gules dividing the quarters, the Este shield being thus placed on the crossed keys[6]. After the grant of the Gonfaloniership by Julius II to Alfonso I Duke of Ferrara in 1508, the tiara was added to the keys, and the fact that the honour was revoked shortly afterwards does not seem to have influenced the family armorials, for the pale of augmentation continued to be borne, although not invariably so.

Fig. 120. Arms of Francesco Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua, from a coin. (3/2.)

Fig. 121. Arms of Pier-Luigi Farnese, Duke of Castro, from a coin.

It seems somewhat strange that the Estensi should have placed in their shield the tiara and not the *ombrellino*, for the change in the papal banner in the reign of Alexander VI had been followed by a similar change of the contents of the pale of augmentation of the Gonfaloniers. A seal[7] of Caesar Borgia of the year 1499 shows his shield party of Borgia and Doms, another shield[8] of 1500 has the augmentation of the arms of France in the 1st and 4th quarters, Borgia in the 2nd and Doms in the 3rd, while two seals[9] of 1502 and 1503, after he had been made Gonfalonier, have the same quarters divided with a pale bearing the keys and the pavilion (Fig. 57). Similarly a medal of Francesco Gonzaga shows the pavilion and keys placed on the vertical bar of the cross in the Mantua arms (Fig. 120), and

1 Moroni, XCVI. 106.
2 Hope, *The Stallplates of the Knights of the Order of the Garter*, 1348–1485, Westminster, 1901, pl. LXXXI.
3 Vat. MS *Urb. lat.* 464, fol. 2.
4 After Litta.
5 The order of the quarters varies and the eagle of the Empire is sometimes two-headed.
6 See Borso d'Este's bible in the R. Biblioteca Estense at Modena. The date attributed to this volume (1455–81) seems to require correction.
7 Demay, *Clair.* 9186.
8 *Ibid.* 9187.
9 *Ibid.* 9188; D.d'A. 11756.

has the inscription "F. M. MANTUAE S. R. E. CONF." (*Franciscus Marchio Mantuae Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Confalonerius*).

On the arms of the Gonfalonier Pier-Luigi Farnese, which appear in Rome on the city wall near the Porta San Sebastiano and on a house in the Via Giulia, the pale of augmentation is also charged with the keys and the pavilion. It is interesting to note that the Farnese lilies usually arranged 3, 2, and 1, are here placed in two vertical rows of three divided by the pale of augmentation (Fig. 121). Not only the arms of the Farnese princes who were successively appointed Gonfaloniers, but those of other members of their house continue to show the pale of augmentation. Where, as on a seal[1] and on a shield on the Palazzo Farnese with the arms of Alexander Duke of Parma, the Farnese arms occupy the 1st and 4th quarters (Austria impaling Burgundy Ancient being in the 2nd and 3rd, and the pale with the pavilion and keys dividing the quarters, with an escutcheon of Portugal over all), the Farnese lilies of course revert to the usual arrangement, 3, 2, and 1.

As in the case of the Este family, the bearing of the pale of augmentation became hereditary in the house of the Dukes of Urbino, both of the Montefeltro and Rovere families. When the Rovere succeeded to the Duchy of Urbino they took over with the arms of the Montefeltri the pale of augmentation, with the tiara and keys. Occasionally the tiara is replaced by the pavilion and, according to Litta[2], the pavilion and keys were borne by the Rovere to represent the office of Prefect of Rome, which had been conferred on Leonardo della Rovere by Sixtus IV and after his death in 1475 on his brother Giovanni.

Since 1827 the *Vessiliferi di S. R. Chiesa* add to their arms, crossed behind the shield, a pair of red standards with the tiara and keys[3].

1 Vredius, *Genealogia Comitum flandriae*, Bruges, 1642–43, I. pl. 144.
2 Note by Passerini in Litta, *imp.* "Rovere."
3 Moroni, XCVI. p. 116.

CHAPTER IX

ROLLS OF PAPAL ARMS

ALTHOUGH chronicles with heraldic illustrations appear as early as the time of Matthew Paris, and are fairly numerous in the 15th century, no attempt seems to have been made to collect the arms of the Popes before the middle of the 16th century. The Book of the Council of Constance gives only the arms of Benedict XIII, Gregory XII, John XXIII and Martin V, the four Popes directly connected with the Council. A book of arms of *ca.* 1450–60 in Vienna[1] shows the arms of Martin V, Eugenius IV and Felix V grouped around the achievement of Nicholas V (Fig. 122), an arrangement which is copied, with the addition of the shield of Paul II, by Grünwald's book of arms (*ca.* 1470) at Munich[2] (Pl. II).

About the middle of the 16th century the reawakened interest in ecclesiastical archaeology found its most characteristic exponent in the person of the Austin hermit Onophrio Panvinio and it was he and the members of his circle who began about the same time, but, it seems, independently, to assemble the arms of the Popes. The earliest of these collections seems to be the two volumes of Angelo Massarelli[3] entitled *Promotiones Cardinalium a Leone IX usque ad Paulum IIII cum insignibus pontificum et cardinalium.* The principal author's handwriting ends with the second elevation of cardinals by Paul IV in 1555, the third elevation in 1556 being in the hand which carries on the notices and arms until Paul V. Throughout the book there are MS corrections and notes by still another hand, which seems to be Panvinio's, indicating the "insignia vera" in place of those given by Massarelli. These corrections nearly invariably correspond to the arms given in Panvinio's own work, the *Imagines pontificum romanorum* made for Johann Jakob Fugger and now in the Munich State Library[4]. These six sumptuous volumes contain the biographies of the Popes from Peter to Pius V and were prepared between 1562 and 1566. They are illustrated with woodcut frames containing the painted portraits of 113 Popes which are of different sizes according as they are imaginary or copies of contemporary portraits. Besides the portraits, the arms, the *rotae*[5] and the bulls of the Popes are illustrated. Vols. 1 and 4 are by a much more skilful artist than vols. 2 and 3. In the last two volumes 24 superb copper engravings take the place of the painted portraits[6], and the arms are very carefully painted. What apparently is Panvinio's own working copy is preserved in the Vatican Library[7], bound up with his notes, proofs and corre-

1 MS 8769 of the State Library; see *A.H.S.* 1928, p. 34.

2 In the Library of the Bavarian National Museum; see *A.H.S.* 1928, p. 83, and v. Berchem, Galbreath and Hupp, *Die Wappenbücher des deutschen Mittelalters,* Basle, 1928, p. 72.

3 MS *Vat. lat.* 3755. The author is indicated in a later MS note at the end of the first volume. He was secretary to the Council of Trent, became bishop of Telesa in 1557 and died in 1566. There are numerous references to him in Pastor, XIV.

4 *Codd. lat. monac.* 155–160. The full title of vol. 1 is *Pontificum Romanorum Imagines a domino nostro iesu christo usque ad Gregorium VI papam onuphrio panvinio veronense fratre eremita augustiniano collectae.* See Hartig, "Des Onuphrius Panvinius Sammlung von Pabstbildnissen in der Bibliothek Johann Jakob Fuggers," *Historisches Jahrbuch,* 1917, p. 284. On Panvinio see also Mann, *Tombs and Portraits of the Popes of the Middle Ages,* London, s.d. (1929), p. 146.

5 The circular signature of the Popes introduced by Leo IX.

6 The plates were printed on the sheets: in 1568 Panvinio published 19 of these portraits together with 8 others in his **XXVII Pontificum Maximorum elogia et imagines...Romae anno* 1568. *Ant. Lafreri formis.* Other *editions, Antwerp, 1572 (Ph. Galleus), Venice, 1575. *German edition by J. Fischaert with woodcuts by Tobias Stimmer, Strassburg, 1573 (Bernhard Jobin). 8 reproductions in Beyer's *Das Pabstbuch,* Munich (1925).

7 MS *Barb. lat.* 2738. See Mann, *Tombs and Portraits,* p. 146.

spondence. Panvinio was a sound student of heraldry and was aware of six different ways of combining the tiara and keys with the papal shield[1]. His collection of papal arms is a very thorough piece of work, showing much critical sense, and it is only to be regretted that his early death in 1568 prevented the publication of his heraldic collections, which have remained practically unknown.

Jacobus Strada, a publisher of Mantua, is the third member of this trio of heralds. His collections are both the least satisfactory and the best known. A *MS collection of papal arms made by him for Fugger is also in the Munich Library[2] and served as a base to the first published series of papal arms, the one to be found in Strada's pirated edition of Panvinio's *Epitome* (see below). Strada's collection of papal arms will not bear comparison with either Massarelli's or Panvinio's but owing to its being published with Panvinio's well-known *Epitome*, and thereby connected later on with the so-called Prophecy of St Malachi, it achieved a popularity as wide as it was undeserved.

Other MS collections of papal arms consist in a worthless series ending with Paul IV, to be found in a volume[3] from the collection of the indefatigable Gaignières, which also contains two series based on Ciacconius and dating from about 1604. A manuscript **Armi di Vari Papi e Cardinali* in the library of the Collegio Araldico in Rome also seems to follow Ciacconius. In the Vatican Library there is an interesting series[4] of about 1644 contained in the *Selva di Varie Scrizzione* of Giacinto Gigli which shows some signs of independent research.

As a curiosity may be mentioned the **complete* series of papal arms beginning with St Peter, in the Altieri palace at Oriolo near Sutri. It dates from the time of the Altieri Pope (Clement X, 1670–76), is doubtless based on Ciacconius, and has been continued to the present day[5].

The first printed collection of the arms of the Popes is to be found in the *Epitome Vitarum Pontificum Romanorum* of Onophrio Panvinio of which Strada published a pirated edition[6] at Venice in 1557. In this volume woodcut frames, with an empty shield surmounted by the tiara and keys, were placed at the head of each "Life" beginning with Clement II, and, the arms of the Pope, when known, were engraved on separate blocks and set into these frames (see Fig. 123), Leo IX being the first Pontiff whose arms are given; a similar arrangement of interlocking blocks served for the arms of the cardinals. Of the papal shields many are left empty, and there are some curious errors in the arms attributed to the remainder[7]. It seems hard that Panvinio should have achieved fame, or at least notoriety, as a herald, by a book the text of which was stolen from him, and the heraldry of which was far inferior to his own work. Strada, in his dedication to Ferdinand, king of the Romans, speaks very complacently of his own heraldic labours; he would have been more justified in praising the appearance of his book, which, for paper, arrangement of type, printing and illustrations, has not been equalled by any similar publication of a later date.

The errors in the *Epitome*, and still more the absence of typographical distinction between Popes and anti-popes, called forth severe words from the learned Dominican Ciacconius[8] whose *Vitae et Gesta Summorum Pontificum* was published at Rome in 1601, two years after the author's death. Ciacconius' work, which

1 See the dedication of the *Epitome* by Jacobus Strada.

2 *Codd. icon.* 266, 267; 12 further volumes 269–280 give arms of Italian cities and families. I am indebted to Mr Lorenz Rheude, of Munich, for information about this series of arms.

3 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS *français*, 20296. Another MS, based on Ciacconius, is *Bibl. Nat. MS Cabinet des Titres*, 32419, ending with Innocent XI.

4 MS *Ottobon. lat.* 2976.

5 See Mann, *Tombs and Portraits*, p. 87.

6 *furto subrepta et in lucem immaturius data* says Ciacconius in the preface to his own *Vitae et Gesta*.

7 Changes were made during the printing. Thus in some copies no arms are given for Innocent IV, who in others has the bendy shield of the Fieschi.

8 Alfonso Chacon, + 14 Feb. 1599.

Plate IV. Early Papal arms. Colour-woodcut by Paul Boesch.

follows the *Epitome* in its general arrangement of text and illustrations, shows a very respectable level of scholarship. He distinguishes between the monograms of the Popes (*insignia pia*) and their coats of arms (*insignia gentilitia*), quotes mosaics and sculptured stones as sources and has some tantalising references to a *Codex Caesareus* and to *quodam libro antiquo bibliothecae S. Petri*. He also seems to have known and used Massarelli's corrected collection.

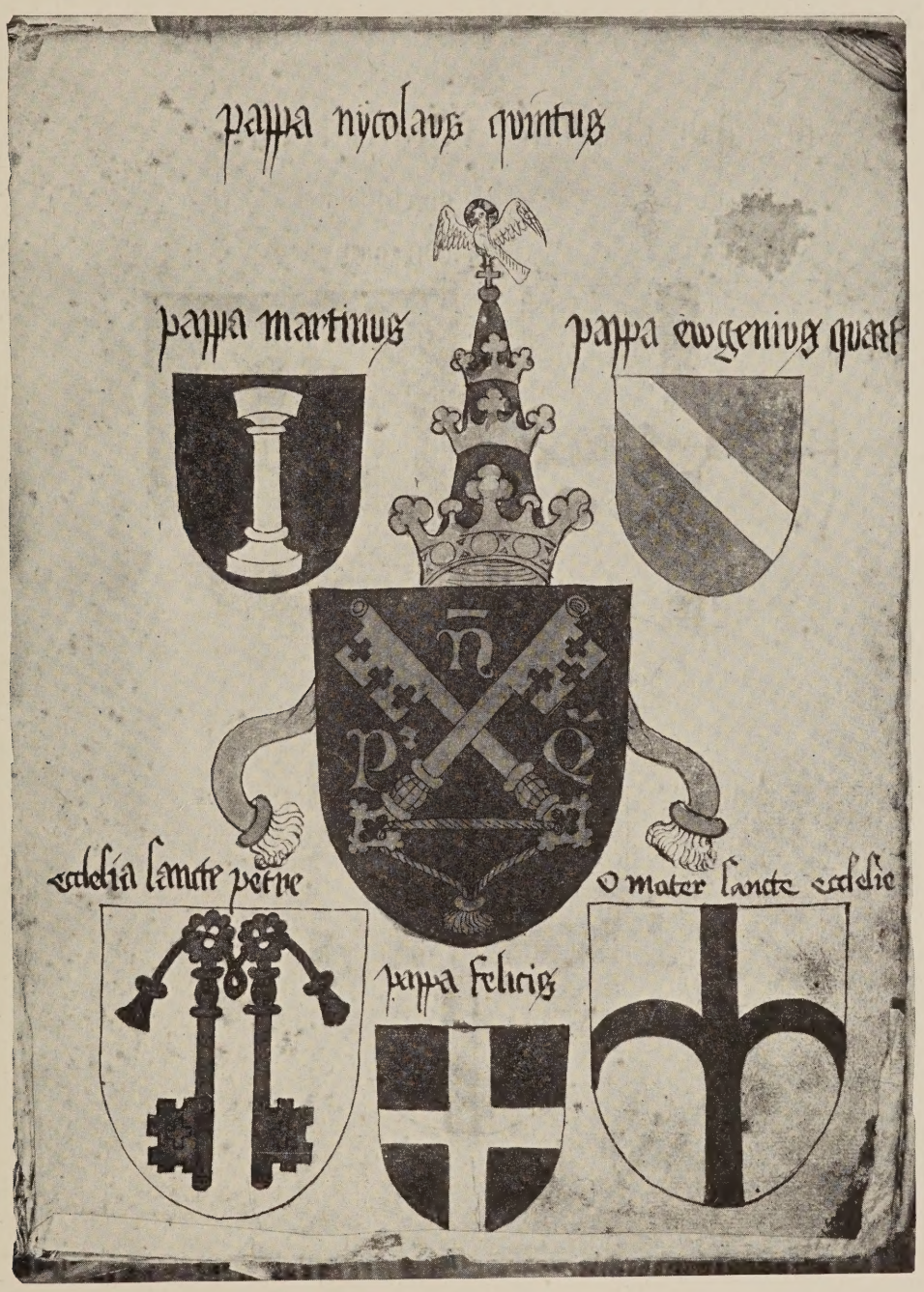


Fig. 122. Papal arms in MS 8769 of the Vienna State Library.

Based chiefly on the *Epitome* of Panvinio, that is on Strada's series, and apparently on

the uncorrected Massarelli series, with some differences of uncertain origin, are the papal arms in the numerous series of Pontifical Portraits. The first of these is a copperplate series[1] by Giovanni Battista de' Cavallieri (Fig. 124) published in 1580, of which the plates were reissued by Ciccarelli[2] in his *Vite*

Fig. 123. Supposed arms of Calixtus II from Strada's edition of Panvinio's *Epitome.*

de' Pontefici in 1587, and again separately in *1590. The idea of combining the (almost entirely imaginary) portraits of the Popes with small coats of arms in the background—an arrangement which Panvinio had originated in his *Imagines* (see p. 63)—was very successful and was borrowed by the later editors of Platina's *Lives of the Popes*, beginning with the Italian edition of *1592 (Venice), and the Latin[3] one of 1600 (Cologne). Tempesta's *Vitae Summorum Pontificum*[4], J. Baptiste de Glen's *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum*[5], and the *Icones et*

Fig. 124. Portrait (imaginary) of Innocent II by J. B. de Cavalleriis. From Ciccarelli, *Vite de' Pontefici,* Rome, 1587.

Vitae Paparum[6] of Megiserius, are illustrated in the same way; in 1630 the second (two-volume) edition of Ciacconius added this type of illustrations to the original series of shields

1 **Pontificum romanorum effigies, aeneis tabulis incisae, opere et studio Jo. Bapt. de Cavalleriis*, Romae, apud Zanettum, 1580. Other *editions, Rome, 1585, 1591.

2 *Le Vite de Pontefici di Antonio Ciccarelli dottore in teologia...con l'effigie di Giovanbattista de Cavallieri Lanno 1587*, Rome, Dominic Basa. Later *editions, 1588, 1643, 1674, 1685.

3 *Historia B. Platinae de vitis Pontificum Romanorum a D. N. Jesu Christo usque ad Paulum II venetum Papam* (continued by On. Panvinio and by A. Ciccarelli), Cologne, 1600. Another edition, *Cologne, 1626.

4 *Vitae Summorum Pontificum a Cristo Jesu ad Clementem VIII, Latino, Italicoque sermone breviter conscriptae a Domenico Tempesta Romano. Effigies eorundam ex nummis et picturis exceptae additis*...Romae, apud Hieronymum Franciscum, 1595. Italian edition, *Rome, 1626.

5 **Vitae romanorum Pontificum a Petro usque ad Clementem VIII*...Leodii ex officina H. Hovii, 1597. The French edition is less rare: *Histoire pontificale contenant la vie et memorables des Papes vrais, légitimes et souverains Pontifes de l'Eglise Romaine...Enrichie de leurs Portraits au naturel* (by the author's brother), *composée par Jean Baptiste de Glen.* A Liège, et se vendant à Paris, 1615. An edition of *1649 has merely another title-page, *S. Pierre et tous ses légitimes successeurs*....

6 *Hier. Megiseri Icones et vitae paparum omnium Romanorum*...Francfort, 1602. German edition, **Bapstchronicken Aussgang*, Francfort, 1602.

and the woodcut blocks of this edition found their way into the 1638 edition of the *Bullarium Romanum*[1] and then back into Oldoini's great four-volume[2] edition of Ciacconius (1677).

Although we may smile at the attribution of arms to St Peter and to various Popes of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries, the work of Massarelli, Panvinio and Ciacconius at least, shows a respectable level of conscientious effort. Many early Popes were considered by family tradition, that bugbear of the serious genealogist, to be members of the great Roman houses whose arms were consequently attributed to them. Still, when the arms of a Pope were unknown, the shield was left empty, and some, at least, of the strictures levelled at the heads of these industrious authors by later compilers are due to the latter writers' ignorance of the fact, not sufficiently understood even at the present day, that the modern system of hatchings to indicate tinctures was not invented until about 1600 and did not come into common use before the end of the 17th century. When hatchings are used by older engravers, they are intended merely to make the arms more comprehensible and to enable the reader to distinguish one tincture from another.

The high level of heraldic scholarship characteristic of the school of Panvinio was unhappily not to be upheld, for during the interregnum which followed the reign of Urban VII (1590), there had been prepared by an unknown author a production which was to have a devastating effect on the study of papal heraldry. This was the so-called Prophecy of St Malachi, a collection of 111 short Latin phrases purporting to refer to the Popes, which began with Coelestine II (1149), included a number of anti-popes, and ended with a reference to the day of Judgment. This "Prophecy" which has been shown on internal evidence to have been concocted to further the chances of election to the Papacy of Cardinal Simoncelli of Orvieto, was published in 1595 by Arnold de Wion[3], together with explanatory notes on the first 74 prophecies (ending with Urban VII). These notes were attributed by Wion to Ciacconius whose *Vitae et Gesta Pontificum* has been noticed above, an attribution as little founded on fact as the one to St Malachi, for Ciacconius makes no reference to the "Prophecy" although he has several mentions of St Malachi, and some of the arms he attributes to the Popes do not correspond to those of the "Prophecy." Arnold de Wion has himself been conjectured[4] to be the author of the whole fabrication, but probably unjustly; his utter lack of critical sense merely led him to accept it as authentic and to give it prominence in his *Lignum vitae*.

Around the "Prophecy" there has sprung up an enormous literature, and although various historians such as Carrière[5], Papebroch[6], Menestrier[7], and Harnack[8], have totally demolished its claims to credibility, it has never lacked adherents even to the present day. One of the latest believers in its authenticity, the Abbé Joseph Maître, has published in two stout volumes[9] a very complete bibliography of the subject with admirably impartial abstracts of each publication, of which a student

1 *Bullarium Romanum Novissimum a B. Leone Magno usq. ad S. D. N. Urbanum VIII, opus absolutissimum Laertij Cherubini...tertio nunc editum*...Rome, 1638. The Lyons 1655 edition has copperplate copies, frequently reversed, of these woodcuts.

2 Continued in two further volumes by Mario Guarnacci (Rome, 1751); new complete edition, Rome, 1787.

3 *Wion, *Lignum vitae, ornamentum et decus Ecclesiae in V libros divisum, in quibus totius ss. religionis D. Benedicti initia, viri dignitate, doctrina, sanctitate, ac principatu clari describuntur*, Venice, 1595.

4 By Weingarten in **Studien und Kritiken*, 1857.

5 **Historia chronologica Pontificum Romanorum cum praesignatione futurorum ex Sancto Malachia. Editio secunda aucta.* Lyon, 1663. The first edition of 1657 does not mention the "Prophecy."

6 *P. Papebrochius, S.J., *Acta Sanctorum, Propylaeum Maii*, p. 1, app. 4 (Antwerp, 1668). Papebroch has some pertinent questions: *Unde is eam habuerit? Ex quo manuscripto? Quam antiquo? Ubi inveniendo? Qua fide transcripto?*

7 **Réfutation des Prophéties faussement attribuées à S. Malachie sur les élections des Papes par le P. Cl. Fr. Menestrier, S.J.* Paris, 1689.

8 *A. Harnack, "Ueber den Verfasser und den Zweck der Prophetie Malachiae de Summis Pontificibus (1590)." In Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, III (1879).

9 *La Prophétie des Papes attribuée à S. Malachie, Étude critique par l'abbé Joseph Maître*, Beaune, 1901.

may express his appreciation even when he does not agree with the author's conclusions.

The unknown fabricator's erudition was mediocre. He generally depends on Panvinio's *Epitome*, that is on Strada's series of arms, confuses the two Milanese Popes Alexander II and Urban III, attaches Gregory X to the better known Visconti of Milan instead of the Piacenza family, and attributes totally incorrect arms to Innocent VI; these last two were mistakes of the *Epitome* which were avoided by Ciacconius.

In spite of its utter baselessness, the "Prophecy" completely vitiated all the later series of arms beginning with the second edition of Ciacconius. Besides this (1630) and Oldoini's great four-volume (1677) edition of the learned Dominican's much pillaged work, it will be enough to mention the *Gesta Pontificum Romanorum* of Palatius (Venice, 1681), the *Bullarium Romanum* (Rome, 1630, Lyon, 1655), the *Chronologie des Papes* of the Chevillards (1698 and 1724), and finally the *Cronologia Romanorum Pontificum* published by the *Calcografia Camerale* of Rome in 1751 and 1784, which has been continued to the present day.

In the last century, the reawakening of interest in heraldic studies brought in its wake a series of new publications, mostly of no great value. Baron de Villestreux's *Grand Armorial des Papes*, the first in date (1863), is the most sumptuous and probably the rarest, as only twenty-five copies were printed; it may also be considered the most worthless, unless this distinction should be claimed for Barbier de Montault's unbelievably careless work[1], from which, alas, were drawn the papal arms placed in the Court of San Damaso in the Vatican. Querfurth[2], Grenser[3], Woodward[4], the *Annuaire Pontifical Catholique* (1898–1917) call for no detailed notice. Count Pasini-Frassoni's *Essai d'Armorial des Papes*[5] is the first serious attempt at a critical study, although it is hampered by the author's acceptance of unverified statements of earlier writers and by his reliance on the eternal "Prophecy." Leuridan's *Armorial des Papes*[6], prepared for the decoration of the cathedral of N.D. de la Treille at Lille (1907), shows but little advance, while Stroehl's *Wappenrolle der Päpste*[7] (1909), which is copied exactly in the *Pabstbuch*[8] of F. J. Beyer, is content with a very modest standard of scholarship, which is however above the level of the latest publication, that of A. D. Tani[9].

After this somewhat depressing account of the complete lists of papal arms which have been published, it is a relief to mention a number of studies on the families and arms of various individual Popes, beginning with those of Du Chesne[10] on the Popes of French origin, which, although not free from error, show evidence of the great genealogist's critical mind and of his honest handling of the sources. M. van Ewen[11] and Count Nahuys[12] have probably discovered all that there is to be found about Hadrian VI's family, and M. de Poli[13] about Urban IV's. Excellent studies on groups

1 *Armorial des Papes, R.A.C.* 1876, pp. 345 ff. Reprinted *Arras, 1877, and in his *Oeuvres Complètes*, III, Paris, 1890, pp. 356–378.

2 Dr C. O. von Querfurth, "Die Wappenschilde der Päpste," *Jahrbuch Adler*, IV (1877), pp. 28 ff. Supplement by J. E. V. Kirchberger, *ibid.* 1894.

3 MS quoted by Querfurth.

4 Woodward, *A treatise on ecclesiastical heraldry*, Edinburgh and London, 1894, pp. 158–167.

5 *Riv. Ar.* 1905, 1906; published separately, Rome, 1906.

6 *Armorial des Papes, Étude iconographique pour les vitraux du bas côté nord de la Basilique Notre-Dame de la Treille à Lille par Th. Leuridan*, Lille, 1907.

7 *Album Pontificale. Die Bildnisse der Päpste . . . mit einer kurzen Papstgeschichte von Joseph Cardinal Hergenroether . . . nebst einer Wappenrolle der Päpste . . . von Hugo Gerard Stroehl*, München-Gladbach, 1909.

8 Munich (1925).

9 *The Papal coats of arms, Stemmi pontifici*, 1300–1925, Rome (1925). Begins with Innocent III.

10 Du Chesne, *Histoire de tous les cardinaux français de naissance*, Paris, 1660–66.

11 Van Ewen, "Renseignements inconnus sur la vie du Pape Adrien VI," *Messager des Sciences historiques*, 1866, p. 257.

12 Graf von Nahuys, "Das Wappen des Pabstes Adrian VI," *Jahrbuch Adler*, IX (1882), p. 25.

13 "Le Pape Urbain IV. Recherches sur sa famille et son blason," *Revue des Questions héraldiques*, 1902–3.

of several Popes are those of *Un Abonné*[1] of the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* on the Avignon Popes, and those of the Rev. Dr Santa Maria on *I Papi Lombardi*[2]. Valuable work has also been done by M. F. Th. Dubois[3] on the arms of the anti-pope Clement VII, by Count Pasini-Frassoni[4] on the arms and families of Urban VIII and of Leo XIII, by M. F. de Broilo on Sixtus V[5] and by Fr. Or. Premoli[6] on the family of Eugenius III.

Though a roll of arms of the Popes based solely on existing achievements would begin only with Boniface VIII, still there is satisfactory evidence of the arms of Urban IV and of most of his successors before the election of the Caetani Pope, and it would be hypercritical to ignore the Popes belonging to such well-known families as the Conti, the Savelli, the Fieschi, and the Castiglioni, merely because we are unable to point to any specific examples of their personal arms. The list must therefore necessarily be extended to include the arms of all the families which have produced a Pope, the *terminus a quo* being the period when the family names of the Pontiffs begin to be known, which is about the year 1000.

For the first 200 years it will be sufficient to indicate briefly what is known and what has been imagined about the arms of the Popes, while their successors from 1200 will be treated at length in the following chapters.

Among the Pontiffs whose reigns fall between the years 1000 and 1200, the arms of the following seven may be considered as satisfactorily established; that is to say, we know to what family the Pope belonged and we know what arms the family bore at a later date.

The first of these seven Popes, Leo IX, was the son of the count of Egisheim in Alsace and of the heiress of the county of Dagsburg. The arms of the landgraviate of Upper Alsace, *Gules a bend between six crowns gold*, are considered with some certainty to have been those of the counts of Egisheim, while the shield generally attributed to Leo IX (a lion in a border and an escarbuncle over all) is a coat attached to his mother's family[7].

Victor II came of the Bavarian counts of Hirschberg, whose arms are *Gold, a standing stag sable with but one antler gules*. The coat usually attributed to him is that of the counts of Calw and Löwenstein, to which family the Pope had been supposed to belong. A silver shield with a red stag which is also attributed to him is really that of a still existing family of ministerials of the counts of Hirschberg, bearing the same name[8].

Alexander II, Calixtus II, Lucius II, and Urban III belong respectively to the families of Badagio of Milan, to the counts of Burgundy (*Franche-comté*), to the Caccienemici originally del' Orso of Bologna, and the Crivelli of Milan. The arms of these families are too well known to need any comment[9]. For Gelasius II, Don Gelasio Caetani[10] has established at least a probability of his belonging to the house of the former Ypati of Gaeta and that the *quarterly silver and gules* borne by the Pisan Gaetani and by the city of Gaeta may fairly be attributed to him.

Coelestine III belonged to a Roman family in which the baptismal name Bobone was common and some of whose members therefore appear with the appellation *de Bobonibus*. The great house of Orsini is supposed to descend from the Pope's brother. The arms attributed to Coelestine III are either the Orsini coat, generally in the form borne in the 15th century and after (see Nicholas III), or

1 Dom Albert-Marie Courtray, O. Cart. *R.A.C.* 1908, pp. 252, 409.
2 *Riv. Ar.* 1922, pp. 42, 133.
3 *A.H.S.* 1924, p. 151.
4 *Riv. Ar.* 1917, pp. 481, 544; 1923, p. 157.
5 *Riv. Ar.* 1903, p. 390.
6 *Riv. Ar.* 1917, p. 298.
7 For the arms of the Popes mentioned in this chapter see Pl. IV. I am indebted to Dr A. Huber, state archivist of Basle, for information as to the Egisheim arms.
8 Merz and Hegi, *Die Wappenrolle von Zürich*, Zürich, 1927 ff. *ad v.* "Hirschberg." Hupp, *Münchener Kalender*, 1929, Munich.
9 Badagio—*gold a boar's head sable*; Burgundy county—*gules an eagle silver*; Caccienemici—*gold a bear passant sable*; Crivelli—*quarterly gold and gules, a sieve silver*. See Pl. VI.
10 Caetani, *Genealogia Cajetana*, Rome, 1924.

a shield attributed to a Boboni family, the authenticity of which is doubtful.

Anastasius IV was a Roman from the Suburra region[1]. Whether he belonged to the family which at a later date appears with the name *della Suburra*, and whose arms are *Gold three bends vair* (the *menuvair* of the French heralds) *and a chief gold with two fighting lions vert*, is uncertain but not improbable.

The tradition attaching Alexander III (born at Siena, the son of Ranuccio) to the Bandinelli of Siena goes back to the 15th century, for a red silk banner of this period, now in the Opera del Duomo at Siena, shows the plain yellow (diapered) shield of the Bandinelli surmounted by a tiara. Of still more respectable age is the tradition that Lucius III (of Lucca, the son of Orlando) was a member of the Allucingoli of Lucca. There is no contemporary evidence, but shields of the Allucingoli arms (*losengy gules and silver*) held by flying angels were attached to the Pope's tomb in the cathedral of Verona in the 14th century. They have long been removed, but continue to appear in books on heraldry as examples of 12th-century armoury[2].

Clement II and Stephen X may be considered together. They belong to families (the dynastic lords of Morsleben in Saxony, and the dukes of Lower Lorraine) who became extinct before the adoption of heraldic bearings, and their arms are therefore not only unknown, but non-existent. The coats attributed to these Popes are those of later families holding the same lands or titles, but not identical with the earlier houses[3].

In a somewhat similar position are Benedict VIII, John XIX, Benedict IX, and Benedict X (all of the house of the counts of Tusculum), Victor III (of the Lombard princes of Benevento[4]) and Innocent II (son of Giovanni da Trastevere). Their families became extinct too early for us to have certain knowledge of their arms, and these Popes have been supplied with the coats of various houses which claimed, with more or less reason, to descend from the earlier ones.

For the counts of Tusculum heraldic authors have hesitated between the arms of the Conti and of the Prefetti di Vico; for Innocent II between those of the Papareschi and of the Guidoni.

Eugenius III, whose family name has been shown to have been not Paganelli, but *de Bernardis*[5], and Clement III, son of Giovanni Scolari of Rome, are given the arms of families of the same name, but of different origin. Urban II who was born at Châtillon near Reims, and Honorius II who was born at Fagnano near Bologna, were claimed without satisfactory proof by families of these localities—even by several different ones—and given their respective arms. Gregory VIII's father, Sartorio Spanadrione, a ministerial of Benevento, has been claimed by the dynastic house of Morra, but the contemporary evidence does not bear out the claim[6].

With Sylvester II, Nicholas II, and Coelestine II we descend to even greater depths of heraldic iniquity. Sylvester II was a Frenchman from Aurillac, and Nicholas II an *Allobrogus quod alio vocabulo Burgundio dicitur*: the

1 For the Popes of the 12th century see Brixius, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von* 1130–81. Thesis, Strasbourg, 1912.

2 I have mislaid my reference for the 14th-century refashioning of the tomb. The sepulchral portrait slab of the Pope was covered in 1536 by another slab showing the papal keys and remained hidden until 1876. It has now been built into the wall of the aisle. It seems not impossible that the "flying angels holding shields" are in reality but a mistaken reminiscence of the flying angels which support the Pope's tiara on the original 12th-century slab. See Iozzi, *La Tomba di Lucio III*, Rome, 1907.

3 The coat of a standing stag sometimes given as the "early arms of Lorraine" derives from an attribution to Stephen X of the arms of his predecessor Victor II. I am indebted to Archivdirektor Dr Knetsch, of Marburg, for information about Clement IV's family.

4 A painted shield discovered in the subterranean church of St Crisogono at Rome has been attributed to Victor III when he was still abbot of Montecassino (*Riv. Ar.* 1914, p. 419). Its date would thus be *before* 1086. The attribution is quite impossible.

5 Premoli, "Il casato di Eugenio III," *Riv. Ar.* 1917, p. 298.

6 See Nadig, *Gregor VIII* 57*tägiges Pontifikat.* Thesis, Basle, 1890. The author fails to draw conclusions from the evidence.

former has therefore been supplied with the arms of the kings of France, and the latter with variants and combinations of the arms of the two distinct ducal houses of Burgundy, as well as those of the counts of Burgundy, whereas Coelestine II, known solely as Guido da Castello from his birthplace, has been provided with a number of different coats, all borne by different families with names like Castellani, Castello, Castiglione or Châtillon.

Still more extraordinary are the cases of Gregory VII[1] and of Paschalis II, for these Popes' Christian names, Hildebrand and Raniero, have been considered sufficient reason for attaching these Pontiffs to the counts degli Aldobrandeschi and to the Ranieri lords of Bleda.

After these examples of heraldic research, it is almost a relief to find that the arms of Hadrian IV, the only English Pope, are frankly imaginative, a pun on his name of Breakspear. Too little is known of John XVII, John XVIII, Sergius IV, Gregory VI and Damasus II to make it possible to provide them with arms otherwise than by an exercise of the imagination, and in the same way, fanciful coats have been invented for a number of the other Popes mentioned above, which it has seemed unnecessary to recall.

1 *natione Tuscus, patria Suanensis, oppido Rovaco, ex patre Bonitho* is all that is certainly known of his parentage. Soana is north of Rome, the village of Rovaco has disappeared and its site is unknown. The story of Gregory's father being a goatherd has no better authority than a statement of Benzo of Alba. Whether he was really *despicabilis parentulae* as William of Malmesbury claims to have heard from Abbot Hugh of Cluny is by no means certain. See Tangl, "Gregor VII jüdischer Herkunft?" *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXXI, 1906, pp. 158 ff.

CHAPTER X

THE POPES OF THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES

INNOCENT III 1198–1216

Lotario Conti was the son of Trasimondo Count of Segni and of Claricia Scotti. In the 10th century, members of this family had been counts in the Campagna; they were subsequently called Counts of Segni from their principal seat, but after the time of Innocent III, they were referred to simply as Conti. Later authors have ascribed a fictitious descent from the counts of Tusculum to this house which became extinct 1808[1].

The Conti arms were *Gules an eagle checky gold and sable* (Pl. IV). In the 14th century and after, the eagle is usually found crowned.

HONORIUS III 1216–27

Cencio Savelli was the son of Aimerico Savelli, the first historically known member of a family, which, mainly owing to this Pope and to his grand-nephew Honorius IV, became one of the most important of the Roman houses and died out in 1728.

Fig. 125. Savelli arms from the monument of Vanna Aldobrandesca, mother of Honorius IV. Araceli, Rome.

In the Savelli Chapel in Santa Maria in Araceli can be seen two mosaic shields of the Savelli arms on the tomb of Vanna degli Aldobrandeschi, wife of Luca nephew of Honorius III and mother of Honorius IV (Fig. 125), *Gules two bends gold, and a chief silver charged with a rose gules, buttoned gold, surmounted by a bird and flanked by two fighting lions all gules.* In the same chapel on the tomb of Luca Savelli, the arms are *Bendy of six gold and gules, a chief silver charged with a rose, surmounted by a bird and flanked by two fighting lions all gules, the chief edged below with a narrow fillet vert.* Two identical shields may be seen on the outside wall of the chapel.

GREGORY IX 1227–41

Ugolino Conti, a son of Mattia Conti of the Counts of Segni, was a grand-nephew of Innocent III.

Arms, *Gules an eagle checky gold and sable* (Pl. IV).

COELESTINE IV 1241

Goffredo Castiglioni was the son of Giovanni Castiglioni and of Cassandra Crivelli sister of Urban III. He belonged to the still existing Lombard house which took its name from Castiglione Olona near Varese.

Arms, *Gules a lion silver holding a castle gold.* Numerous examples of these arms can be seen at Castiglione Olona, although none of them dates from the Pope's time (Pl. IV).

INNOCENT IV 1243–54

Sinibaldo de' Fieschi, son of Ugo de' Fieschi Count of Lavagna and of N. Grilli, belonged to one of the greatest families of Genoa.

The Fieschi arms were *Bendy of six, silver and azure* (Pl. IV). On Innocent's tomb in the cathedral of Naples, built by Archbishop Humbert (1308–20), no arms originally appeared, but when the tomb was restored in 1585 by Archbishop Annibaldo di Capua, the Fieschi arms were placed on the sarcophagus and Ciacconius gives an engraving of the tomb as it existed in his time. Since then the arms have been removed from the sarcophagus, but there still appear above the tomb achievements of the Fieschi arms dating, as well as the recumbent figure of the Pope, from the restoration of 1585.

1 The accounts of the families of the Popes are based on Gregorovius, Mann, Pastor and Litta. Special sources are indicated at the end of each article.

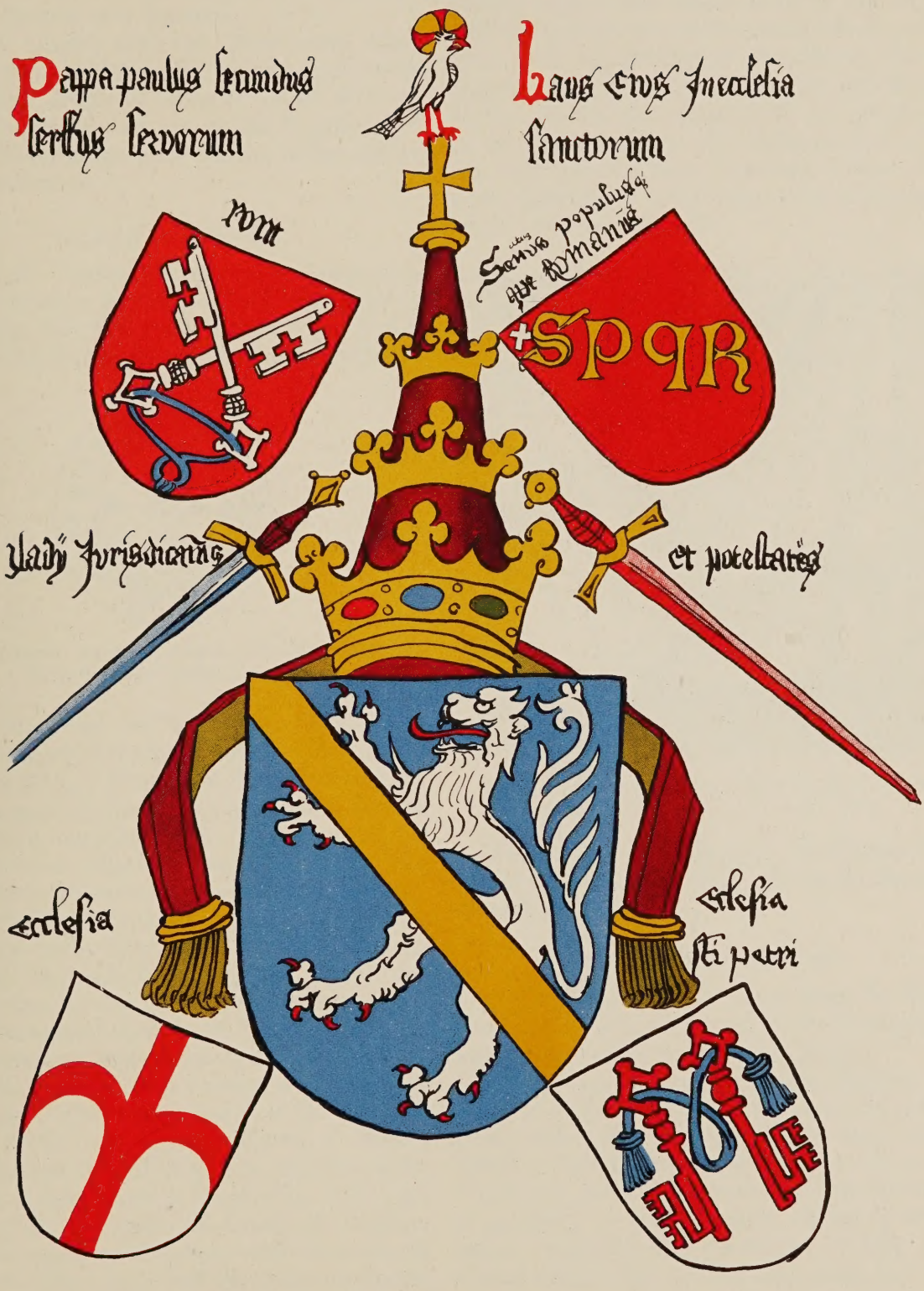


Plate V. Arms of Paul II from the St Gall book of arms. 1466–1470.

ALEXANDER IV 1254–61

Rinaldo Conti was the son of Filippo Count of Segni, a brother of Gregory IX, and was born at Genna near Subiaco.

Mosaic shields with the Conti arms, *Gules an eagle checky gold and sable*, which appear to be of the time either of Gregory IX or of Alexander IV, are to be seen on the fragments of a fine Cosmatesque altar railing in the abbey of Grottaferrata.

URBAN IV 1261–64

Jacques de Troyes has generally been considered to have been the son of a shoemaker of Troyes, but the earliest statement of this origin of his family is to be found in the forged

Fig. 126. Counter-seal of the chapter of St Urban of Troyes. (1/1.) From *Revue des Questions héraldiques*, 1902.

Istoria Fiorentina of Ricordano Malespini. There is no certain contemporary evidence that his surname was Pantaleon, for, following the usual custom of churchmen of his time, Urban consistently appears with the name of his birthplace as *Magister Jacobus de Trecis*. His family seem to have been wealthy burgesses.

No contemporaneous shield of Urban's arms has been found, but in 1468 his arms were still known in his birthplace, Troyes, for at that time an inventory of the treasury of St Urban's chapter-church, the Pope's favourite foundation, mentions a *Sinseignier* (canopy) . . . *painct des armes du Pape Urbain, de France et de Champaigne*. The counter-seal of the chapter of St Urban at Troyes shows a Pope's head flanked on either side by two fleurs-de-lis with a rose between them (Fig. 126); the drapery on the tomb of Cardinal Ancher, Urban's nephew, is strewn with fleurs-de-lis and roses (Fig. 127), and the arms attributed to this cardinal by Panvinio, Ciacconius and their successors show a shield party of a fleur-de-lis and of a rose with a chief having an oblong object with fleurs-de-lis at the angles and charged in turn with a cross, which would seem to be an attempt at describing a badly damaged shield quarterly of roses and fleurs-de-lis. As for the tinctures it will probably be as well to follow the authors who since the 16th century have blazoned Urban IV's arms, *Quarterly of azure a fleur-de-lis gold, and of silver a rose gules* (Pl. IV).

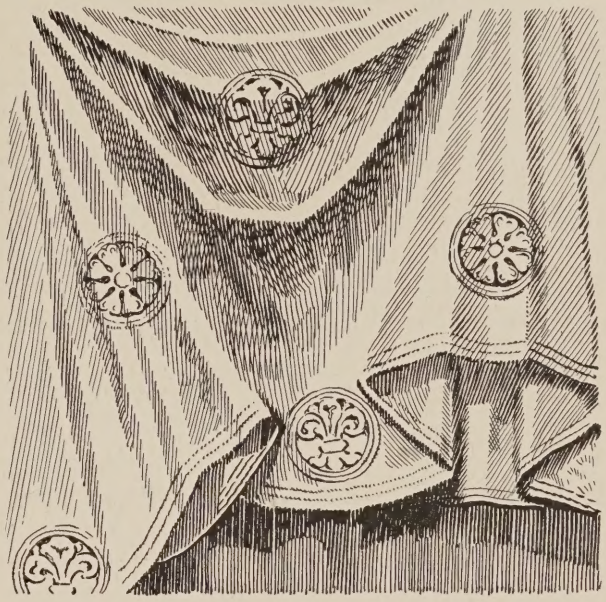


Fig. 127. Drapery from the tomb of Cardinal Ancher, nephew of Urban IV. Grotte Vaticane.

(Poli, "Le Pape Urbain IV. Recherches sur sa famille et son blason," *Revue des Questions héraldiques*, 1902–3.)

CLEMENT IV 1264–68

Guy Foulques (*Fulcodi*) came from St Gilles (Gard) and was the son of Pierre Foulques le Gros, a successful lawyer and judge.

Many authors insist in giving Clement IV a shield with six fleurs-de-lis azure on a field gold, which they suppose can be seen on his tomb in San Francesco at Viterbo. It is certainly not there at present, and the reference is probably to some Farnese shield of which many examples can be found in that city. Other arms, *Gold a border sable with four balls*

silver, sometimes with an eagle in the field, attributed to Clement, chiefly by French authors, are based on an entirely unsubstantiated claim to relationship presented in 1530 by a Le Gros family of the Ile de France when applying to the Emperor Charles V for a grant of arms.

Villani (*Cronica*, Lib. VII. cap. 2) has a story that the well-known shield of the Parte Guelfa, *Silver, an eagle gules standing on a dragon vert*, frequently to be seen in Florence with the Florentine lily in chief, was a gift by Clement IV of his own arms—*e vuole il detto Papa che per suo amore la Parte Guelfa in Fiorenza portera sempre la sua arma propria in bandiera e in suggello; la quale era ed é "il campo bianco con una aquila vermiglia, in su uno serpente verde."* What seems more probable is that the Pope sent his adherents a banner with symbolic charges. Doubtful though Villani's story appears to be, until an authentic example of the coat of the Foulques family is found, the eagle and dragon shield must be taken to represent Clement IV's arms (Pl. IV).

GREGORY X 1271–76

Although historians agree that Tedaldo Visconti belonged to the Visconti family of Piacenza, the arms of the more famous Milanese house have often been attributed to him.

The arms of the Piacenza Visconti are, *Azure a chief crenelated gold* (Pl. IV). Not infrequently, but probably incorrectly, the tinctures are given as azure and gules.

INNOCENT V 1276

Nothing is known of the family of Pierre de Tarentaise, the Dominican who became Pope as Innocent V. Many authors unite in ascribing to Innocent an apparently imaginary coat of three pales charged with fleurs-de-lis, while Panvinio, Platina, Ceccarelli, Tempesta and Gigli give him as arms a pile inverted. Platina would seem to make the tinctures gules and silver, but in his woodcuts the hatchings are generally meant to represent sable, and in the other cases the tinctures are sable and silver. Together with coats of the arms of the city of Bologna, similar shields ensigned with a tiara and certainly meant to represent Innocent V are found attached to the great reliquary of St Dominic (by Jacopo Roseto 1383) in the Bolognese church dedicated to that Saint; the inverted pile is diapered and the black enamel of the field has disappeared (Fig. 128). As the arms, *Sable a pile inverted silver* or *Silver chapé sable*, are those of the Order of St Dominic, Innocent V may be considered to have borne the arms of his Order.

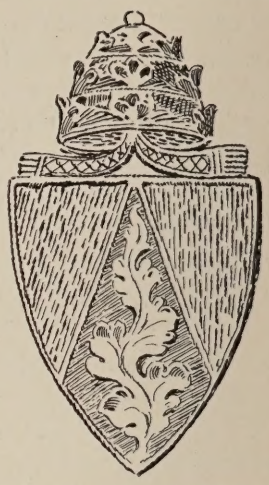


Fig. 128. Arms of Innocent V from the reliquary of St Dominic at Bologna.

HADRIAN V 1276

Ottobono de' Fieschi, nephew of Innocent IV, was the son of Teodosio de' Fieschi Count of Lavagna.

No contemporary arms are to be seen on the fine monument erected to Hadrian V's memory in the church of San Francesco at Viterbo where he was buried. Three small shields, however, with marble inlay bearing the Fieschi arms, in this case *Bendy of six, azure and silver*, are let into the wall beside the tomb and seem to be of the same date. There is in addition, under the canopy, a fine relief also with marble inlay, showing the arms with the keys crossed above the shield and surmounted by the tiara which seems to date from the early 15th century; it has been included in an ornamentation placed in 1715.

JOHN XXI 1276–77

Pedro Rebulo, better known as *Petrus Hispanus*, was a celebrated physician and philosopher. His father Juliano Rebulo belonged to a Portuguese family.

His traditional arms are, *Quarterly, silver three crescents gules, and sable two pales gold.* This case of a quarterly coat is very early, even for the Peninsula, though it is not impossible (Pl. IV).

NICHOLAS III 1277–80

Gian-Gaetano Orsini was the son of Matteo Rosso degli Orsini and of Perna Caetani. His great-grandfather Orso, from whom this famous Roman house, the *Figli del' Orso*, took its name, belonged to the same family as Coelestine III. The first known ancestor of the house is another Orso who lived in the 10th century.

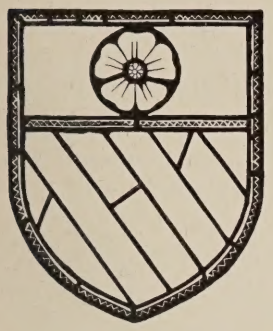


Fig. 129. Orsini shield in the window of St Francesco, Assisi.

Nicholas III's arms appear in the 14th-century glass in the transepts of the lower church of San Francesco at Assisi, in one of which, dedicated to St Nicholas, the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Gian-Gaetano detto Orsini[1], was buried. These arms are, *Bendy of six, gules and silver and a chief silver with a rose gules buttoned gold.* The chief is generally sustained by a gold fillet which here coincides with the gold edging applied to the whole shield (Fig. 129); in later times this fillet was broadened and charged with a wavy fillet or eel.

MARTIN IV 1281–85

Simon de Brion can be considered with some certainty to be of Champenois origin. In

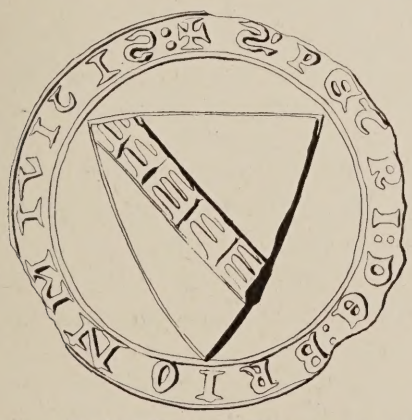


Fig. 130. Seal of Pierre de Brion, 1272. (1/1.)

1280 *Gilo de Brione miles* appears as the brother of the Pope, while in 1281 *Robertus de Cacherel et Gilo de Brione milites* are *custodes* of the county of Champagne[2], a position which Gilo would hardly have held if he had not belonged to that county.

The arms of Martin IV are probably, *Silver a bend vairy gold and gules*, though the tinctures are quite uncertain. The shield of the Villiers de l'Isle Adam, a canon's arm with a fur maniple, which Ciacconius and others give Martin, is probably a mistaken attribution due to the fact that the lordship of Villiers le Bruslé was at one time held by a family of the name of Brion. The arms given by Du Chesne and his copyists, a bend charged with five castles, are a misreading of the arms given above, and are based on the same evidence, a seal (Fig. 130) of one Pierre de Brion of Anjou (1272) now in the Archives Nationales in Paris (D.d'A. 1577).

HONORIUS IV 1285–87

Giacomo Savelli was the son of Luca Savelli and Vanna daughter of Aldobrandino degli Aldobrandeschi Count of Santa Fiora. Originally buried in St Peter's, his remains were transferred by order of Paul III to Santa Maria in Araceli where they were placed in his mother's tomb and the two monuments combined.

(For his arms, see Honorius III.)

NICHOLAS IV 1288–92

Girolamo d'Ascoli's surname appears diversely as Mesci, Maschi, or Minoschi. The arms usually attributed to him are, *Silver, a bend azure between two molets of six points azure, and a chief azure with three fleurs-de-lis gold* (Pl. IV). On his monument built by Sixtus V in Santa Maria Maggiore there is a variant of these arms, with but one fleur-de-lis in the chief instead of three.

COELESTINE V 1294

Pietro da Morrone, the son of a peasant named Angelerio, had long been a hermit on Monte Morrone in the Abruzzi when he was elected Pope.

1 Whom Litta considers probably to have been a Stefaneschi, and nephew *ex matre* of the Pope.
2 *Revue des Questions héraldiques* (1902–3), p. 410 n.

Some historians have invented a family of "de' Morrone" or "di Murrone" for him, and supplied him with a perfectly imaginary coat, *Gold a lion azure and a bend gules over all*, which, though adequate as heraldry, is historically non-existent.

BONIFACE VIII 1294–1303

The arms of Benedetto Caetani, son of Loffredo Caetani, of a knightly family of Anagni,

Fig. 131. Detail from painting by Simone Martini in the Naples Museum, representing Boniface VIII receiving St Louis of Toulouse.

and of Emilia Patrasso, niece of Alexander IV, *Gold two bends wavy azure*, appear in Giotto's fresco in St John's Lateran, on mosaic shields above the Pope's statue on the outside wall of the cathedral of Anagni, and in the family chapel within; also on relief shields in Viterbo and on the tomb of Caecilia Metella (*Capo di bove*) on the Appian Way. They were formerly on the base of the Pontiff's tomb in the Grotte Vaticane, where an engraving of Ciacconius shows the now empty shield-shaped spaces filled with the arms in mosaic; the wavy bends are still to be seen carved on the marble drapery of the tomb. Boniface's arms can also be found on the paintings of the Life of St Louis of Toulouse by Simone Martini in the museum of Naples, the tapestries covering the throne of the Pope and hanging on the wall behind him being strewn with small Caetani shields (see Fig. 131).

Of the four mosaic shields above the Pope's seated effigy at Anagni, which we have just mentioned, two are Caetani shields, and the other two, *Silver, an eagle party sable and gules armed gold*, must be those of his mother's family.

(Don Gelasio Caetani, *Genealogia Cajetana*, Rome, 1924.)

BENEDICT XI 1303–4

Niccolo Boccasini was the son of a notary of Treviso. His arms are probably *Party silver and sable* (Pl. IV), the colours of the Dominican Order (cp. Innocent V and Benedict XII). The two shields on the Pope's monument in the church of San Domenico in Perugia no longer show any arms. These were probably originally formed of mosaic and may still have been visible about 1550, for Panvinio, in his Fugger MS (see p. 63), and Massarelli, in his *Promotiones Cardinalium* (see p. 63) and in the notes collected for this work[1], both give the Pope's arms as *Party silver and sable*. Ciacconius, writing about 40 years later, places over the division a pale battled on both sides without indication of colour, which would seem to show that the mosaic had begun to suffer in his day. Benedict XI's 18th-century monument in the church of San Niccolo at Treviso shows a shield *Party sable and silver with a bend gold*, but this is evidently copied from a 15th-century glass panel in the same church. Here the bend consists of glass having a faint pinkish tinge and seems to be the result of a restoration.

CLEMENT V 1305–14

Bertrand de Got was one of the eleven children of Béraut de Got, lord of Villandraut, and of Ida de Blanquefort. Some of his lands he held from the King of England.

His arms, *Gold three bars gules*, can still be

1 *Alcuni notationi di diversi cardinali et papi.* MS *Vat. lat.* 12126, fol. 507.

seen in various places in the cathedral of St Bertrand de Comminges of which he had been bishop (Fig. 132).

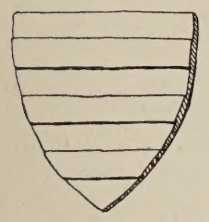


Fig. 132. Arms of Clement V in the cathedral of St Bertrand de Comminges.

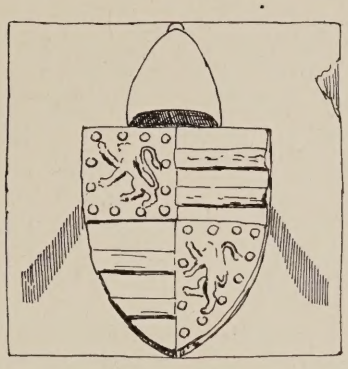


Fig. 133. Arms of John XXII. Avignon Cathedral.

JOHN XXII 1316–34

Jacques Duèze, the son of Arnaud Duèze, was born at Cahors of a family of wealthy burgesses who were making their way into the ranks of the lower nobility[1].

Though John XXII's arms surmounted by the tiara appear on the outer wall of his and his nephew Cardinal Jean de Via's chapel in the cathedral of Avignon (Fig. 133), there seems to be no extant contemporary example of the tinctures, of which the different authors give an astounding variety. In 1702 Dom Bruno Malvesin in a study of the Charterhouse of Cahors, a foundation of John XXII, came to the following conclusion as to the tinctures of that Pope's arms: *Quarterly, first and fourth, silver a lion azure in an orle of roundels gules, second and third, gules two bars silver.*

(*R.A.C.* 1908, p. 258; Albe, "Autour de Jean XXII," *Annales de S. Louis-des-Français*, Rome, 1902, and separately, s.d.l.)

(Nicholas V, anti-pope, 1328–30

Pietro Rainalducci was a native of Corbara in the Abruzzi, but nothing is known of his family. The arms attributed to him, five crows, are imaginary.)

BENEDICT XII 1334–42

Jacques Fournier was born at Saverdun, in the county of Foix, his father Guillem Novelli[2] being *fournier* or guardian of the manorial oven. His family must have been well-to-do, for his uncle, the future cardinal Arnaud Novelli, was able, when still a simple doctor of civil law, to found a hospital at Saverdun.

The only known examples of his arms are to be seen on two keystones in the palace of Avignon. These keystones in the Tour de la Campana, now occupied by the departmental archives of Vaucluse, show a shield with a border, surmounted by the crossed keys (Fig. 77); the field is probably silver and the border gules. Not infrequently, but incorrectly, the arms are blazoned, *Gules a scutcheon silver* instead of *Silver a border gules*. It is quite possible that the coat was formed by Benedict XII by combining the gules of the papal arms with the white of the Cistercian habit, to which Order he belonged.

CLEMENT VI 1342–53

Pierre Roger was the son of Guillaume Roger, lord of Rosiers, and of Guillemette de Mestre. The Rogers of Rosiers became lords of Beaufort en Vallée and that name supplanted the original patronymic.

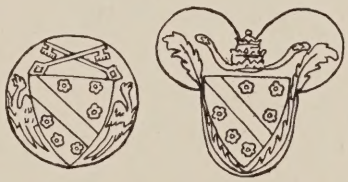


Fig. 134. Arms of Clement VI on a lamp presented by him to the town of St Esprit near Bayonne.

Clement's arms, *a bend and six roses in orle*, appear above the principal entrance to the Palace of the Popes in Avignon (Fig. 40), on his seal as Archbishop of Rouen, 1333, and on the seal of the bailiwick of Louviers[3], a fief of the see of Rouen, 1338, as well as on a lamp

1 His brother was ennobled by the King of France in 1316. Baluzius, ed. Mollat, *op. cit.* II. p. 179, n. 3.

2 *Hic prius vocatus Jacobus Furnerii, alias cognominatus Novelli. Prima Vita Benedicti XII*, Baluzius, *op. cit.* ed. Mollat, I. p. 195.

3 Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Normandie*, Paris, 1881, no. 2253; and Bosredon and Rupin, *Sigillographie du Bas-Limousin*, Brive, 1886, p. 361; Demay, *op. cit.* 2349.

presented by him to the town of St Esprit near Bayonne (see Fig. 134), but the arms in the missal in the library of Clermont-Ferrand, sometimes attributed to him, are those of Louis Roger de Beaufort, marquis de Canillac, and date from the 15th century. Ciacconius makes the field of the shield gold and is followed in this mistake by others. Gelre's book of arms (1365–75) gives the arms of the *g(reve) va(n) befoort* as *Silver, a bend azure and six roses gules buttoned gold in orle*, with an old man's head as crest[1].

INNOCENT VI 1352–62

Etienne Aubert was born near Pompadour (Limousin), probably in the village of Monts in the parish of Beyssac. He apparently belonged to a family of well-to-do landowners, just ready to rise from a yeoman's status to the ranks of the lesser nobility.

Innocent's arms, *Gules a lion silver and a bendlet azure, a chief gules sustained by a fillet azure and charged with three scallops silver*, appear in several places at Avignon, in the palace, in the sacristy of St Laurent (Fig. 135), at St Agricole, as well as on his tomb at Villeneuve-les-Avignon, in the church of Beyssac near Pompadour (Figs. 78 and 79), and on his

Fig. 135. Arms of Innocent VI. Keystone in the papal palace in Avignon.

seal as Cardinal of SS. Giovanni e Paolo[2]. Variants however are not uncommon, for the devise and even the bendlet are sometimes lacking, e.g. on the tomb of Bishop Baldracco Malabaila in the cathedral of Asti, 1353 (see Fig. 41), while a stone formerly in Smyrna castle shows only the lion and a bendlet cut off at each end (Fig. 21).

The only contemporary example of the tinctures is to be seen on the title-page of the Statutes of the Mercers' Guild of Bologna now in the Museo Civico of that city (Fig. 5), where the fillet is lacking.

URBAN V 1362–70

Guillaume Grimoard was the son of Guillaume Grimoard, lord of Grisac, and of

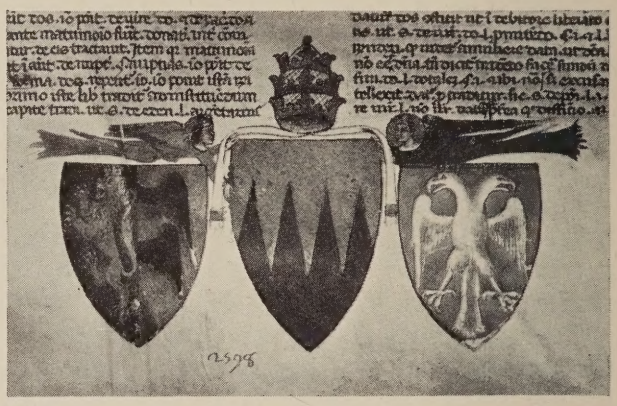


Fig. 136. Arms of Urban V in MS *Vat. lat.* 2598 in the Vatican Library[3].

Amphelisa de Sabran, Countess of Montferrand.

A fine example of his arms, *Gules a chief indented gold*, appears in a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Fig. 136). The same shield appears repeatedly on the ciborium of St John Lateran, in some cases with a chief of the Papacy. It can be seen in the latter form in a manuscript of the library of the Musée Calvet at Avignon (see p. 41), and on a relief in the cloisters of St John Lateran (Fig. 80).

GREGORY XI 1370–78

Pierre Roger de Beaufort was a son of Clement VI's brother, Guillaume Roger, lord of Beaufort en Vallée, and of Marie de Chambon. His arms, *Silver a bend azure and six roses gules in orle*, are the same as those of his uncle,

1 Bouton, *Wapenboek ou Armorial. . .par Gelre Héraut d'Armes*, Paris and Brussels, pl. LXXXI.
2 Coulon, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Bourgogne*, Paris, 1912, no. 871.
3 I am at a loss to explain the two shields at the sides.

Clement VI. A good example is the relief in the cloisters of St John Lateran (Fig. 137).

(As for tinctures, cp. Clement VI.)

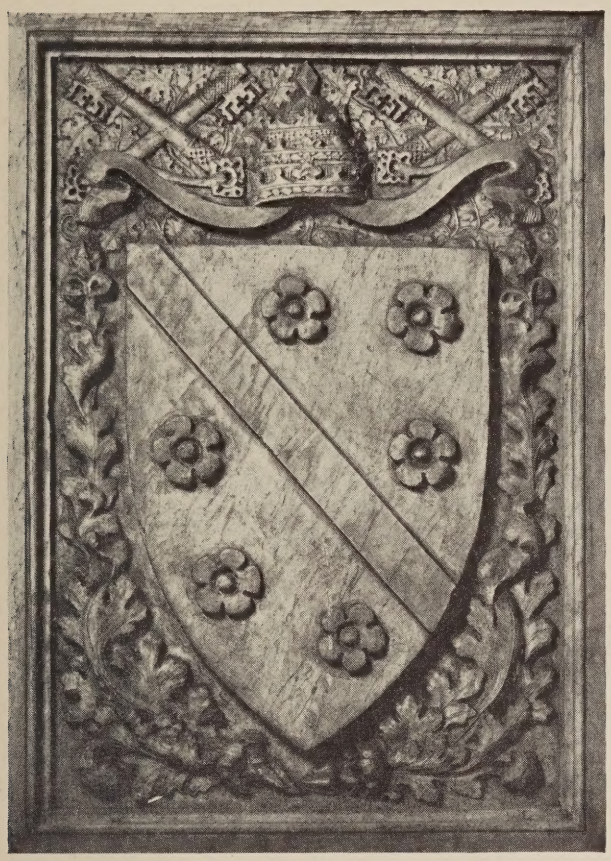


Fig. 137. *Photo Anderson.* Arms of Gregory XI. Cloisters of St John Lateran.

URBAN VI 1378–89

Bartolomeo Prignani belonged to a noble Neapolitan family and was the son of Niccolo Prignani and of Margherita Brancaccio.

His tomb, in the Grotte Vaticane, shows two shields with his arms, (*Gold*) *an eagle* (*azure*), surmounted by tiaras (Fig. 138). Two columns from his monument now form part of the tabernacle of the statue of St Peter in the Grotte, and have on the capitals the same shield with the eagle.

(Clement VII, anti-pope, 1378–94

Robert of Geneva was the son of Amadeus III Count of Geneva and of Mahault d'Auvergne.

The seals of the counts of Geneva show them to have originally borne *Checky gold and azure*. This was modified by a reduction of the squares into *Nine pieces gold and azure*, or

Fig. 138. Arms of Urban VI from his tomb in the Grotte Vaticane.

into *Gold a cross azure quarterpierced*, but the tinctures are often reversed.

Clement VII was the only Pope to use an armorial seal, which shows supporters, an

Fig. 139. Arms of Clement VII in the church of St Martial at Avignon.

eagle and two leopards (see Fig. 85). His arms can be seen at Vienne in the portal of the cathedral (Fig. 38), and at Avignon in the churches of St Martial (Fig. 139) and of the Celestins (Fig. 84). There are also several fine examples of them in the Musée

Calvet[1] at Avignon (Fig. 83) and in a two-volume bible made for John Duke of Berry, now in the Vatican Library (Fig. 81).)

(F. Th. Dubois, "Les armoiries de Robert de Genève, l'antipape Clément VII," in *A.H.S.* 1924, pp. 121–155.)

BONIFACE IX 1389–1404

Pietro Tomacelli belonged to a Neapolitan family whose nobility is extolled by all writers, though the names of his parents are never mentioned. A connection with the Tomacelli house, claimed by the Cibo family of Genoa, does not seem capable of proof.

Boniface's arms, *Gules a bend checky silver and azure*, can still be seen on the morse and on the chair of his statue in the cloister of San Paolo fuori le mura, on a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Fig. 140) and in mosaic on the background of the kneeling statue of Boniface VIII at St John Lateran (Fig. 34). They were also on his monument in Old St Peter's of which Ciacconius gives an illustration.

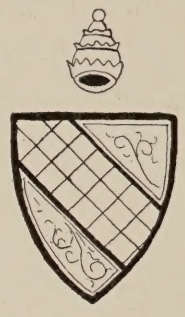


Fig. 140. Arms of Boniface IX in MS *Vat. lat.* 3747 in the Vatican Library.

1 The missal in the library of the Musée Calvet (MS 136) frequently attributed to Clement VII was made for Urban V and shows no armorial bearings.

CHAPTER XI

THE POPES OF THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES

(Benedict XIII, anti-pope, 1394–1417

Pedro de Luna was the son of Juan Martinez de Luna, Baron of Ilveca, and of Maria Perez de Gotor. His arms, *Gules, a crescent reversed silver, and a base silver*, which can be seen in the windows of the cathedral at Bourges (Fig. 88), on a keystone in the cathedral of Carpentras, and in the Book of the Council of Constance (Fig. 89), show him to have belonged to the Martinez de Luna, the first of the three branches of the great Aragonese house whose members were *ricos hombres de natura* from the time of Alfonso III.)

INNOCENT VII 1404–6

Cosimo Migliorati was the son of Gentile Migliorati of Sulmona and of Mascia Oderini of the family of the counts of Marsia and of Valva. Examples of his arms, *Gold a bend azure, charged with a comet gold and cotised azure*, are extremely rare, as they were destroyed by the Roman populace in the riots of the year 1405. The only contemporary example that has come to light is the remains of a fresco in the Palazzo del Capitano at Todi (Fig. 141). The Pope's family died out in 1500; yet the same arms are borne by another family of the same name, to which the mother of Benedict XV belonged.

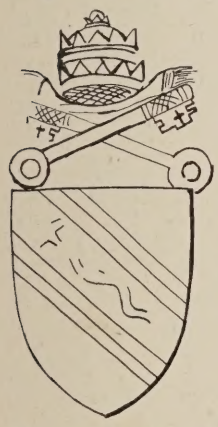


Fig. 141. Arms of Innocent VII from a fresco at Todi.

GREGORY XII 1406–15

Angelo Correr was the son of a Venetian patrician Niccolo Correr and of Polissena N. . . . . His arms, *Party fess-wise silver and azure, a lozenge throughout countercharged*, appear in Richental's Book of the Council of Constance (Fig. 142), in the cathedral of Siena, on his monument at Recanati, and, surmounted by a chief of the Papacy, on a bronze badge in the Museo Correr at Venice.

(Clement VIII, anti-pope, 1417–29

Gil Sanchez de Munoz, a canon of Barcelona, was elected at Peñiscola after Benedict XIII's death, resigned in 1429, and died bishop of Majorca in 1446. His arms as given by Panvinio and Massarelli are *Quarterly, first and fourth, gules a cross flory gold, plain voided of the field, second and third, gold plain.*)

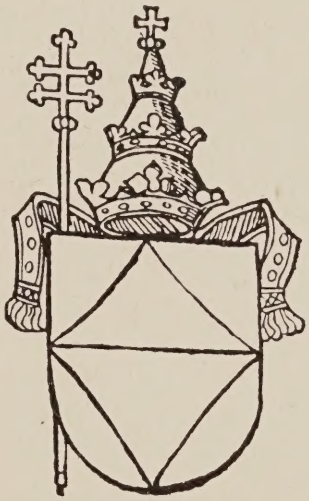


Fig. 142. Arms of Gregory XII from the Book of the Council of Constance.

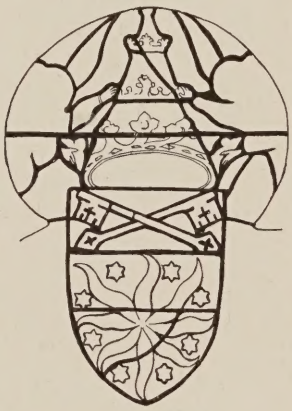


Fig. 143. Arms of Alexander V in a window of the cathedral of Bourges.

ALEXANDER V 1409–10

Pietro Filargo was born in Crete of unknown parents. His arms, *Azure, a star of eight wavy rays surrounded by eight molets all gold*, can be seen in the windows of the cathedral of Bourges (Fig. 143), on his coins, and on his much restored tomb in the church of San Francesco in Bologna.

JOHN XXIII 1410–15

Baldassare Cossa was the son of Giovanni Count of Troia and belonged to a family which originally came from Ischia.

His arms, which can be seen on his tomb in the Baptistery at Florence (see Fig. 90) and on several of his coins, are given by the Book of the Council of Constance as *Party fess-wise, in chief gules a human leg* (cossa) *silver, in base vert three bends silver, all within a border indented gold* (Fig. 144). There are however numerous variations, the division of the field shifting from a chief to a base, and on one of his coins[1] the border being engrailed; the leg is also sometimes found gold, and at times the tinctures both of the chief and the base are inverted.

Fig. 144. Portrait (imaginary) of John XXIII from the Book of the Council of Constance. The arms to the sinister are those of the Pope; those to the dexter are probably intended for the county of Troia.

MARTIN V 1417–31

Oddo Colonna was the son of Agapito Colonna and of Caterina Conti, and belonged to one of the greatest baronial families of Rome. The Colonna arms are, *Gules a column silver* (Fig. 145). From the end of the 14th century, the column is usually surmounted by a gold crown supposed to have been granted by the Emperor Louis of Bavaria to reward the assistance of the Colonnesi in 1329. Martin V's arms can be seen in various books of arms, on his tomb at St John Lateran, on his coins, in the Hall of the Notaries at Perugia, on the Palazzo del Senatore in Rome, at Milan and at Viterbo (Fig. 97), and as far afield as the Tower of San Giorgio in Rhodes.

Fig. 145. Arms of Martin V from the Book of the Council of Constance.

1 Ser. I. xv. 15.

EUGENIUS IV 1431–47

Gabriele Condulmero was the son of Angelo Condulmero and belonged to a wealthy merchants' family of Venice, some of whose branches at various times entered the ranks of the Venetian nobility, though the one to which the Pope belonged did not succeed in doing so until 1687. His mother Beriola Correr was the sister of one Pope, Gregory XII, the mother of a second, Eugenius, and the grandmother of a third, Paul II.

Eugenius IV's arms, *Azure a bend silver*, appear on his coins, in the illuminations of various manuscripts in the Vatican Library (Figs. 93, 101 and 106), in the archives of Dijon, and in the Stuttgart Public Library (Fig. 146), in the windows of the cathedrals of Evreux and Carpentras, and in the paintings

Fig. 146. Arms of Eugenius from the Stuttgart book of arms.

of the Hall of the Notaries at Perugia. The shields on his tomb at San Salvatore in Lauro date from a much later period.

(Felix V, anti-pope, 1439–49

Amadeus Count and Duke of Savoy was the son of Count Amadeus VII and of Bonne de Berry. His arms, *Gules a cross silver* (Fig. 100) can be seen on numberless coins, seals, manuscripts, on the bell presented by him to the cathedral of Basle and a keystone retaining

Fig. 147. Keystone with the arms of Felix V from the cloisters of the abbey of St Maurice d'Agaune.

some, at least, of its original colouring in the abbey cloisters of St Maurice d'Agaune (Fig. 147). The cross of Savoy appears on the seals[1] of the counts of Maurienne and Savoy in 1143, and at the present day in the arms of the kingdom of Italy.)

NICHOLAS V 1447–55

Tommaso Parentucelli was born at Sarzana where his father Bartolomeo Parentucelli was a physician. His mother, Andreola Calderoni, married Tommaso Calandrini as her second husband.

The arms of the Parentucelli, a respectable burgher family of Sarzana, *Silver two bends wavy gules* (according to Ciacconius, one bend is gules and the other azure), were not used by the Pope who, apparently from a feeling of humility, replaced them by the arms of St Peter, *Gules a pair of crossed keys silver*. This coat appears on Nicholas V's coins, on the seal (Fig. 148) of the *auditor generalis camere apostolice*[2] (which was retained in use until the

1 *A.H.S.* 1925, p. 2.

2 Dexter, the shield of the Church, sinister, the shield of the Pope, surmounted by the tiara. *A.H.S.* 1926, p. 59, and Galbreath, *Sigilla Agaunensia*, Lausanne, 1927, no. 151.

end of the century), in a relief on the Roman city wall near the Porta Ardeatina (Fig. 150),

Fig. 148. Seal of the *auditor generalis camere apostolice*, 1450. (1/1.)

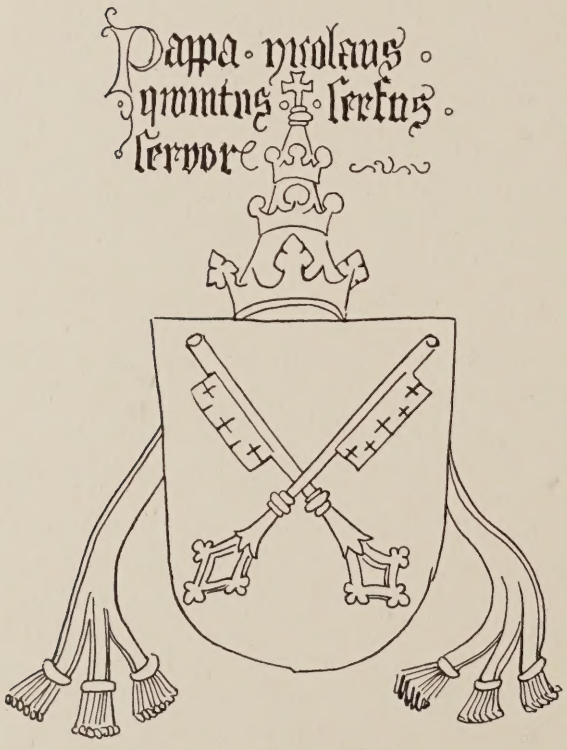


Fig. 149. Arms of Nicholas V from the Stuttgart book of arms.

in numerous manuscripts in the Vatican Library and elsewhere (Fig. 149), and on the walls of the Pope's chapel in the Vatican. Occasionally the keys are gold, and in the paintings in the Hall of the Notaries at Perugia not only are the keys gold, but the field is silver, probably an attempt to differentiate the Pope's arms from those of the Church; a similar attempt is made in a Vienna book of arms and in Grünwald's book of arms at

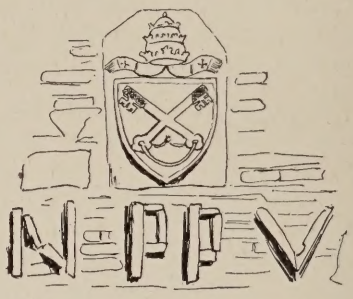


Fig. 150. Arms of Nicholas V from the Roman city wall near the Porta Ardeatina.

Munich, both of the 15th century, where the keys in Nicholas' shield are surrounded by the letters N(icolas) P(apa) Q(uintus) (see Fig. 122 and Pl. II).

CALIXTUS III 1455–58

Alonzo de Borja was the son of Domingo de Borja and of Francisca de Marti. The Borja family, whom the Italians called Borgia, appear in the 14th century among the lesser nobility of the province of Valentia.

The arms of Calixtus III were, *Gold an ox gules feeding on a terrace vert, and a border gold, charged with eight tufts of grass vert.* These latter charges have been taken to be flames, garbs, hearts, crescents and double crowns of Aragon, the Borgia badge. The tincture of the border is frequently given as gules, but all the contemporary examples, inasmuch as they are coloured, show it to have been gold, and the charges on it green.

Calixtus III's arms appear on his coins, in relief on the Rocca of Viterbo, on the Ponte Molle near Rome (Fig. 151), in a fine manuscript in the Riccardi Library of Florence, in the Hall of the Notaries at Perugia, on the ceiling of Santa Maria Maggiore, and in the Pursuivant Ingeram's book of arms (Pl. III). A fine stone relief of his arms as cardinal is in the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican.

Fig. 151. Arms of Calixtus III, of Cardinal Rodrigo Borja and of Pedro-Luiz de Borja. Bas-relief in the Ponte Molle. The small Martinez de Luna shield in the corner is probably the shield of the master of works.

PIUS II 1458–64

Enea-Silvio de' Piccolomini was the son of Silvio Piccolomini and of Vittoria Forteguerri, and belonged to one of the most important Sienese families of the later Middle Ages.

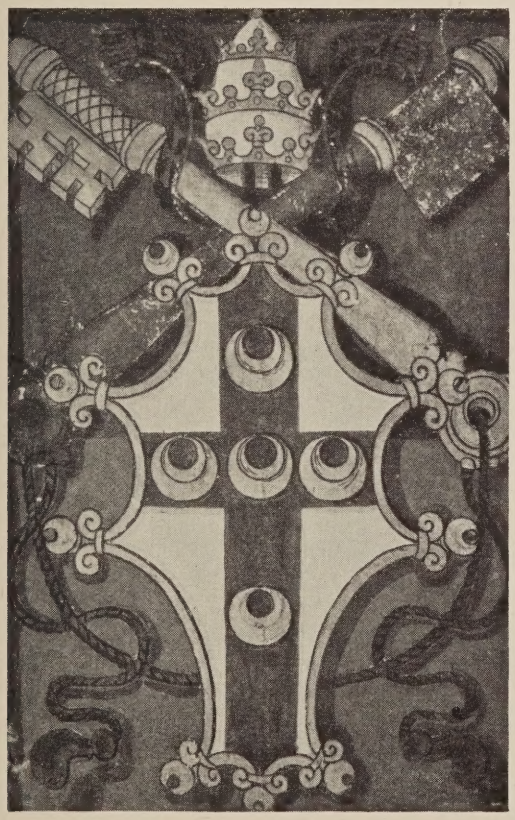


Fig. 152. *Photo Alinari.* Arms of Pius II by Pinturicchio, in the Piccolomini Library at Siena.

The Piccolomini arms, *Silver a cross azure with five crescents gold*, appear first in 1279, and very frequently afterwards, on the painted covers of the Sienese tax-account books, the *Libri di Biccherna e di Gabella*, which form what is practically a Golden Book of the families of that city.

Fine examples of Pius II's arms, painted by Pinturicchio, may be seen in the library of Siena Cathedral (Fig. 152). They also appear on his coins, on his monument in Sant' Andrea del Valle, in manuscripts at Pienza, Siena and in the Vatican Library, on numerous reliefs in Rome and in Siena (Figs. 102 and 104) and in a book of arms belonging to the *Tiroler Adelsmatrikelgenossenschaft* at Innsbruck (Fig. 92).

(Lisini, *Le Tavolette dipinte di Biccherna et di Gabella del R. Archivio di Stato in Siena,* Siena, 1901.)

PAUL II 1464–71

Pietro Barbo was the son of Niccolo Barbo, a Venetian patrician, and of Polissena Condulmero, sister of Eugenius IV. Parts of his monument from Old St Peter's are now in the Museo Petriano.

Many fine examples of Paul II's arms, *Azure a lion silver and a bendlet gold over all*, are

to be seen in Rome (Fig. 153) especially in the Palazzo Venezia, in the adjoining church of San Marco, and on the fragments of his

Fig. 153. *Photo Anderson.* Arms of Paul II from the Palazzetto Venezia.

monument in the Museo Petriano (Fig. 95). They also appear on his coins, on leaden tiles in the Vatican, in manuscripts at Perugia, in the Vatican Library (Fig. 94), and at St Gall (Pl. V).

SIXTUS IV 1471–84

Francesco della Rovere, the son of Lionardo della Rovere and of Lucchina Mugnone, belonged to a family which, though settled at Savona in the 14th century, originally came from the neighbouring hamlet of Albissola.

It is more than improbable that there is any relationship between this Pope's family and the great Piedmontese house of Rovere, counts of Vinovo, but Sixtus attached great importance to this claim which he was already making while still a cardinal. He consequently assumed the arms of the Piedmontese family, *Azure an oak-tree uprooted gold*, which can be seen everywhere in the Sistine Chapel (Figs. 96 and 154), on the Palazzo del Senatore (Fig. 98), and in innumerable other places. The Savona family are said really to have borne, *Azure an oak-tree vert*, and several manuscripts in the Vatican Library as well as the Statutes of Perugia in the Public Library of that city show a green oak-tree with gold or yellow acorns. The same tinctures appear on the great Flemish tapestry and on an Italian embroidered altar-front, both in the treasury of S. Francesco at Assisi.

INNOCENT VIII 1484–92

Giovanni-Battista Cibo of Genoa, the son of Arano Cibo and of Teodorina da Mari, claimed descent from the Neapolitan house

Fig. 154. *Photo Anderson.* Arms of Sixtus IV, by Giovanni Dalmati, from the railing in the Sistine Chapel.

to which Boniface IX belonged. He even had the assertion placed on the latter's statue, but the claim, based on a similarity of arms, is more than doubtful.

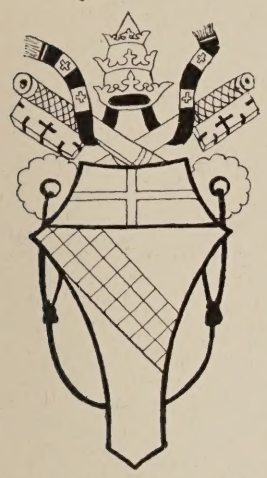


Fig. 155. Arms of Innocent VIII from MS *Vat. gr.* 1208 in the Vatican Library.

The Cibo arms, *Gules, a bend checky silver and azure and a chief of the Republic of Genoa, silver a cross gules*, appear on the Pope's tomb, on his coins, in the Hall of the Notaries at Perugia, in various manuscripts (Fig. 155) in the Vatican Library, and in Innocent's Belvedere in the Vatican.

ALEXANDER VI 1492–1503

Rodrigo de Borja y Borja was the son of Jofrè de Borja y Doms and of Isabel de Borja sister of Calixtus III. The arms borne by Alexander and all the descendants of his grandfather Rodrigo-Gil de Borja and of Sibilla Doms, the heiress of that family, are *Party, dexter, gold an ox gules feeding on a terrace vert, a border gold, charged with eight tufts of grass vert* (Borja), *and sinister, barry of six gold and sable* (Doms). It should be noticed that the border remains intact along the palar line, and is not suppressed as it would be in French or English heraldry. (For the Borgia coat, see Calixtus III.)

Superb examples of Alexander VI's arms are to be seen in the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican, in the castle of St Angelo (see Fig. 105), in manuscripts of the Vatican Library (Fig. 156) and at Innsbruck (see Pl. VI), on the ceiling of Santa Maria Maggiore, and in the cathedral of Modena.

(P. de Roo, *Material for a History of Pope Alexander VI*, Bruges, 1924.)

PIUS III 1503

Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini, son of Nanni Todeschini of Sarteno near Siena and of Laudomia Piccolomini, sister of Pius II, assumed his uncle's name and arms early in life and is not believed ever to have borne

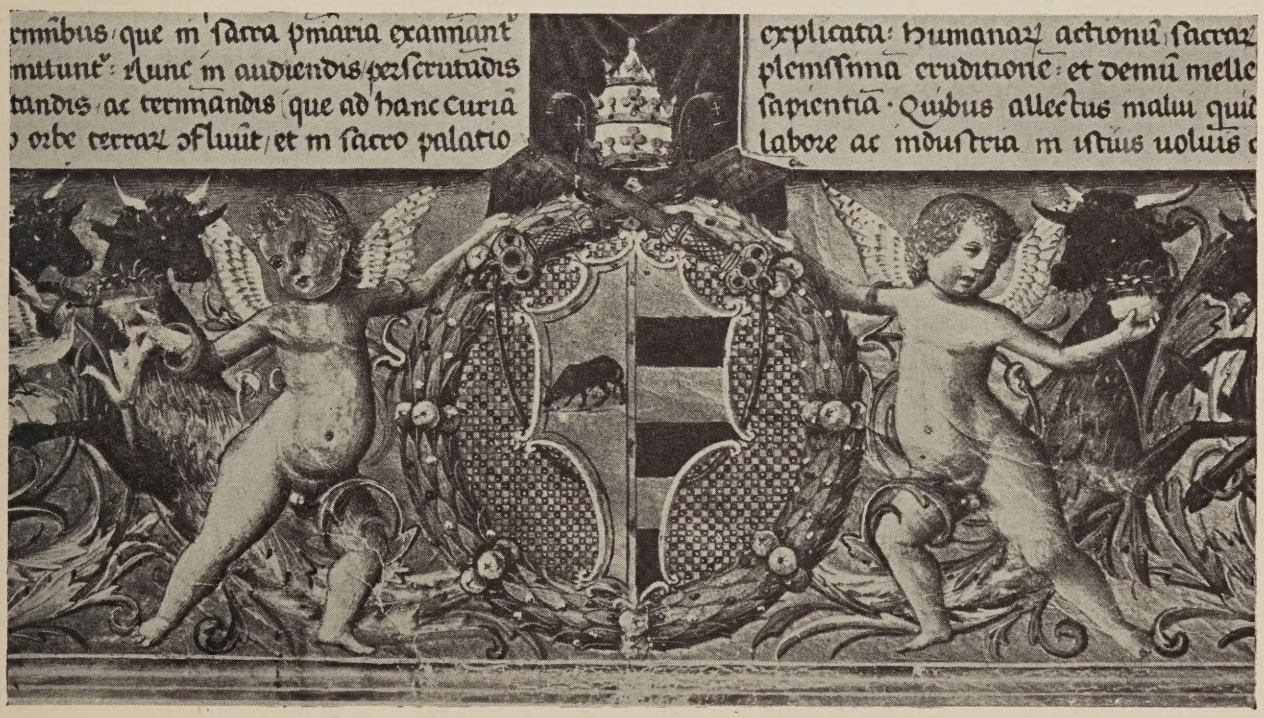


Fig. 156. Arms of Alexander VI from the MS *Vat. lat.* 220 in the Vatican Library.

his paternal coat which is apparently unknown.

As Pius III reigned for only 26 days, examples of his arms, *Silver a cross azure with five crescents gold*, are rare, and probably the only ones in existence are to be found on his monument, now in Sant' Andrea del Valle, on his coins (Fig. 157), and medals and on his monument in the cathedral of Siena, all of which show Piccolomini arms absolutely similar to those of his uncle Pius II. His tombstone, still in the Grotte Vaticane, was made before his elevation to the Pontificate and shows his arms as cardinal. Fine examples of his arms dating from this period may be seen in the Piccolomini Library at Siena.

Fig. 157. Arms of Pius III from a coin.

JULIUS II 1503–13

Giuliano della Rovere was the son of Raffaello della Rovere, brother of Sixtus IV, and of Teodora Manerola.

Fig. 158. Arms of Julius II. Window of Sta Maria del Popolo.

His arms, *Azure an oak-tree uprooted gold*, may be seen in stained-glass windows of Santa Maria del Popolo (Fig. 158), and in manuscripts in the Vatican Library; they are also carved in the castle of Sant' Angelo, and painted in Raphael's Stanze in the Vatican. They appear as well in the windows of San Francesco at Assisi, but there the tree has green leaves and yellow acorns.

LEO X 1513–21

Giovanni de' Medici was the son of Lorenzo de' Medici, il Magnifico, and of Clarice Orsini.

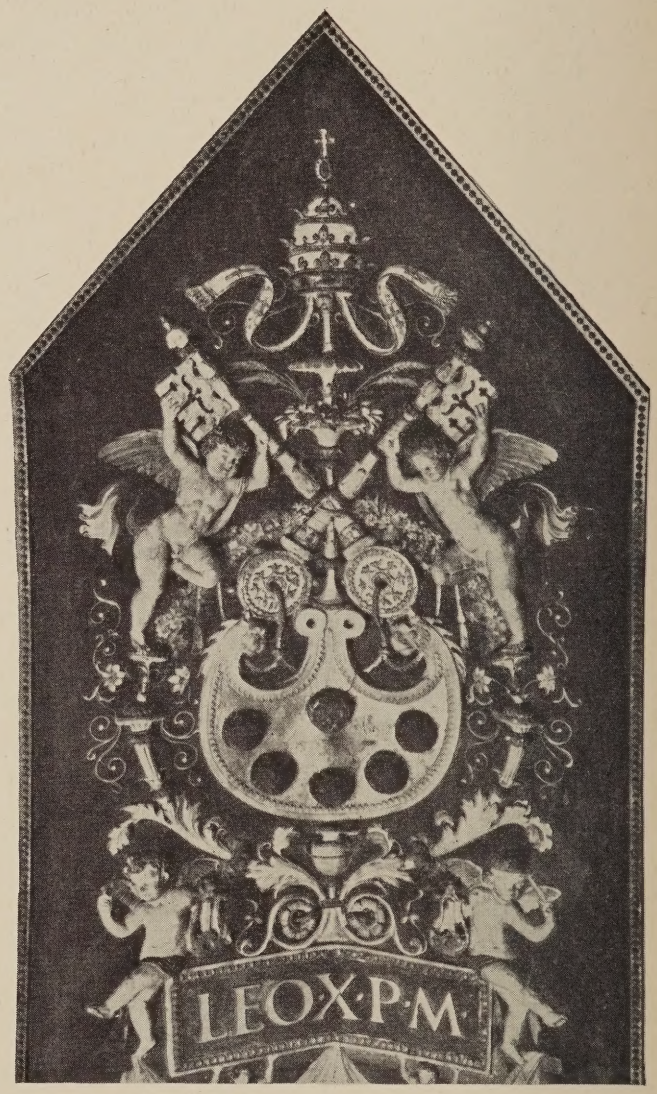


Fig. 159. *Photo Alinari.* Arms of Leo X in the Sala dei Pontefici. Borgia Apartments.

The Florentine Medici first achieved political importance during the revolt of the Ciompi, and the story of their further rise needs no repetition. Their arms show a number of red balls, generally six, representing

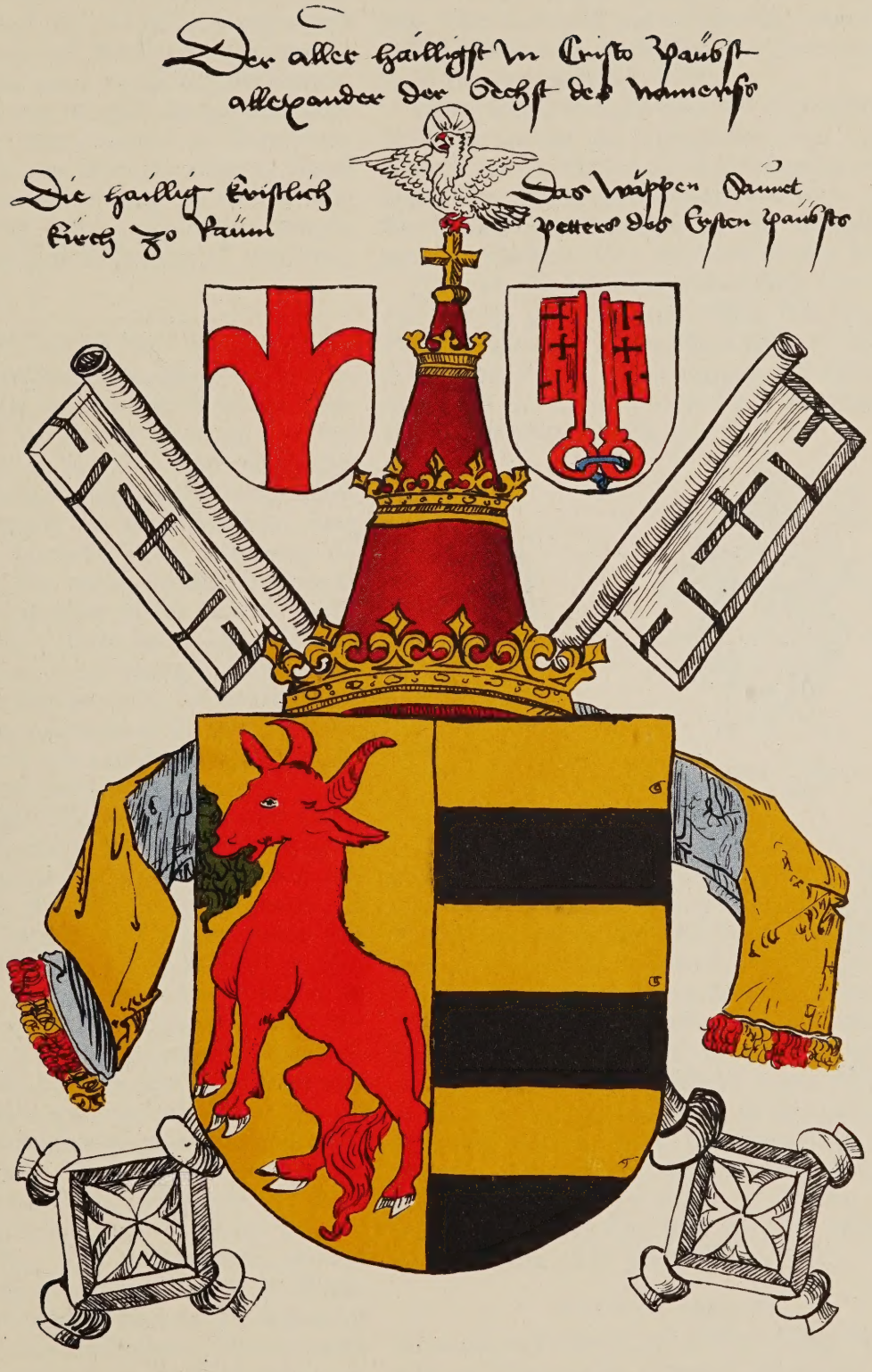


Plate VI. Arms of Alexander VI from Jörg Rugen's book of arms. About 1492.

the physicians' pills, but the arrangement as well as the number varies. The established arms originally were, *Gold six roundels gules in orle*, but in 1465 Louis XI of France granted to Piero di Cosimo de' Medici an augmentation of the French arms, replacing the uppermost roundel by one of *azure charged with three gold fleurs-de-lis*; this roundel is frequently drawn of a larger size than the others. Good examples of Leo's arms may be seen in the Sala dei Pontefici (Fig. 159) in the Borgia Apartments, as well as on Raphael's tapestries (Fig. 110).

HADRIAN VI 1522–23

Adrian of Utrecht had originally been known as Adrian Florisse or Florensz from the baptismal name of his father Florens Boevens (Baldwin's son), as at this date surnames were not usual among the Netherlands commonalty; he signed in the medieval way "Adriaan van Utrecht" or "Adrianus de Trajecto" from the name of his birthplace. Though the occupation of his father is uncertain (he is said to have been a brewer or a shipbuilder), there is no reason to believe the stories of his youthful poverty, for the registers of the University of Louvain do not bear the note "pauper" in the margin by his name, as was usual in such cases.

In a manuscript collection of epitaphs dated 1591, that of Hadrian VI has the note *natus fuit* 1559 (instead of 1459) *filius Florentii Schrevellii Bouens*. As the Schrevels, originally of Dordrecht but settled at Utrecht, bore the same three wolfhooks which appear on the *Paushuyse*, the house built by Adrian at Utrecht in 1517, and which are the only example known of his arms, dating from before his election to the Papacy, the Pope's descent from that family is quite probable.

There are a number of examples extant of Hadrian's arms as Pope, *Quarterly, first and fourth, gold three wolfhooks vert, second and third, silver a lion sable crowned gold.* They can be seen on his coins (Fig. 160) and medals, on the façade of the church of the Anima in Rome and on his tomb within, and on the façade of the Palazzo Pubblico of Foligno. The tinctures appear on his portrait in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam, and in the coat of arms painted in the window of the chapel of the Swiss Guard in the Campo Santo dei Tedeschi. The S-shaped pointed hooks, commonly called Wolfhooks, probably have a connection with the shipbuilder's trade.

There seems to have been no reason but an aesthetic one for the augmented coat, and its resemblance to that of the Dedel family, which bears three fleurs-de-lis quartered with a lion for Bronkhorst, has led to the mistake of making Hadrian VI a member of that house.

(Durrer, *Die Schweizergarde in Rom,* Lucerne, 1927, I. p. 351; Nahuys, "Das Wappen des Pabstes Adrian VI," *Jahrbuch Adler,* IX (1882), p. 25; Van Ewen, "Renseignements inconnus sur la vie du Pape Adrien VI," *Messager des Sciences historiques,* 1866, p. 257.)

Fig. 160. Arms of Hadrian VI from a coin.

Fig. 161. Arms of Clement VII from a medal.

CLEMENT VII 1523–34

Giulio de' Medici was the illegitimate son of Giuliano de' Medici and of a certain Fioretta. A dispensation for defect of birth was granted to him by Leo X, followed by a declaration that his parents had been secretly married.

Clement made use of the same arms as Leo X, and examples of them are to be seen on his tomb at Santa Maria sopra Minerva as well as on the pedestals of the statues of St Peter and St Paul on the Ponte Sant' Angelo. One of his medals shows his arms placed on a large cross of Malta commemorating the fact that he had belonged to the Order of St John (Fig. 161).

PAUL III 1534–49

Alessandro Farnese, son of Pier-Luigi Farnese and of Giovanella Caetani, belonged to a

small feudal family of the Patrimony of St Peter.

The Farnese arms were originally, a gold shield strewn with blue fleurs-de-lis. During the 15th century the shield was charged with a variable number of fleurs-de-lis, of which good examples are to be seen on the walls of the Palazzo Farnese at Viterbo. The arms as finally borne are, *Gold six fleurs-de-lis azure, placed three, two, and one.* Fine achievements of Paul III himself are frequent in Rome, among them those in the castle of Sant' Angelo (Fig. 164), on the Palazzo Farnese, and on a house in the Via Giulia.

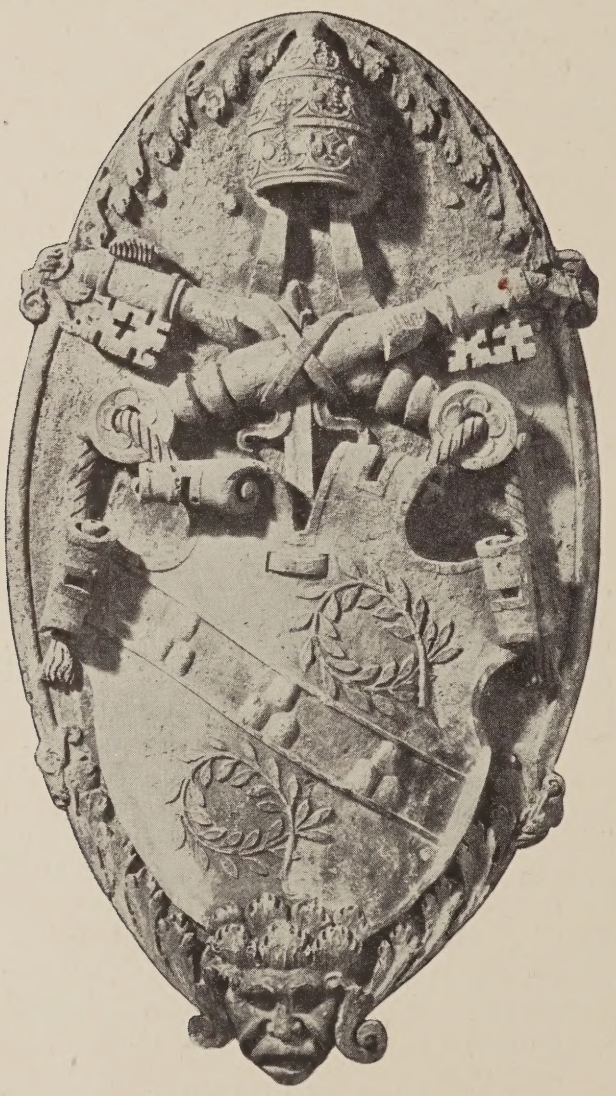


Fig. 162. *Photo Alinari.* Arms of Julius III in the Pinacoteca in Todi.

JULIUS III 1550–55

Giovanni-Maria Ciocchi del Monte was the son of Vincenzo Ciocchi of Monte San Savino and of Cristofora Saraceni of Siena. His grandfather Fabiano sometimes called himself del Monte from the name of his birthplace, and both the Pope and his uncle, Cardinal Antonio, consistently suppressed the family name.

The Ciocchi arms, *Azure a bend gules edged gold charged with three triple mounts gold, between two laurel wreaths also gold,* can be seen on *Fabiano's tomb at Monte San Savino, as well as on the Pope's coins, medals, bookbindings, etc. The mounts are generally set bend-sinister-wise, as for instance on the fine stone carving in the Pinacoteca of Todi (Fig. 162); sometimes, though more rarely, they are set bend-wise, as they are in the Palazzo Spada alla Regola in Rome and on the bookbinding illustrated by Guigard (*Nouvel Armorial du bibliophile*, Paris, 1890, 1–216). The laurel wreaths generally consist of a single branch bent in a circle.

As for the tinctures, they appear authoritatively on the grant allowing the Counts Spada of Terni to bear Julius III's arms on a chief above their own.

MARCELLUS II 1555

Marcello Cervini, son of Ricciardo Cervini and of Cassandra Benci, came of two of the noblest families of Montepulciano.

Fig. 163. Arms of Marcellus II from a coin.

The Pope's arms, *Azure nine wheat-stalks gold in groups of three, growing from a base vert, and a fawn* (*cervino*, not a stag) *gold at rest before them,* can be seen on coins (Fig. 163)[1] struck during his three weeks' Pontificate, on the Cervini palace at Montepulciano, on the façade of the cathedral at Gubbio, and on his portrait published by Panvinio in 1568.

PAUL IV 1555–59

Gian-Pietro Carafa of Naples was the son of Gian-Antonio Carafa Baron of Sant' Angelo

1 Ser. I. xlii. 2–5.

Fig. 164. *Photo Anderson.* Ceiling in the castle of St Angelo, with the arms of Paul III.

della Scala and of Vittoria Camposchi Countess of Montorio.

Though Carafa arms, *Gules three bars silver*, with various differences, can still be found on many Neapolitan buildings, achievements of Paul IV are very rare in Rome, as after the death of the Pope, a decree of the Roman people ordered the removal of every visible memorial of the "tyrannical house of Caraffa"; one example however exists in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva where the Pope was buried, and another in the Sala Ducale in the Vatican (Fig. 165).

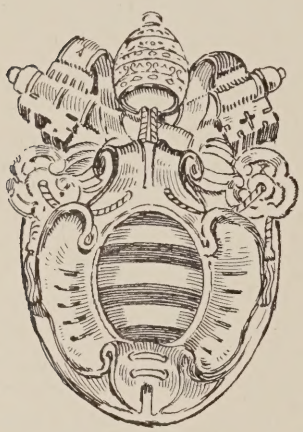


Fig. 165. Arms of Paul IV, in the Sala Ducale of the Vatican.

Fig. 166. Coin of Gian-Giacomo Medici, "Marquess of Musso, Count of Lecco." (3/2.)

Fig. 167. *Photo Anderson.* Part of ceiling in St John Lateran with the arms of Pius IV.

PIUS IV 1559–65

Giovan-Angelo Medici was the son of Bernardino Medici, a Milanese tax-contractor, and of Cecilia Serbeloni; his sister was the mother of St Charles Borromeo and his brother was the famous Gian-Giacomo, known as the Medichino and as the Castellan of Musso, who ultimately became marquess of Marignano. His family which had no connection with the Medici of Florence, though both had a similar if quite independent origin, appears in Milan in the 13th century.

The arms of the Milanese Medici appear in the Trivulzio book of arms[1] (15th century) as, *Gules a roundel gold*, and these same arms can be seen under a chief of the Empire on coins struck in 1523 by Gian-Giacomo as MARCHIO MUSSI, COMES LEUCI (Lecco) (Fig. 166).

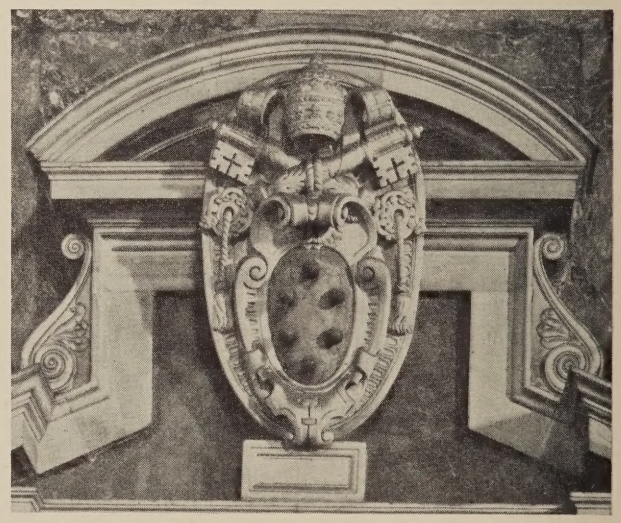


Fig. 168. *Photo Alinari.* Arms of Pius IV from his monument in Sta Maria degli Angeli.

1 In the library of prince Trivulzio at Milan.

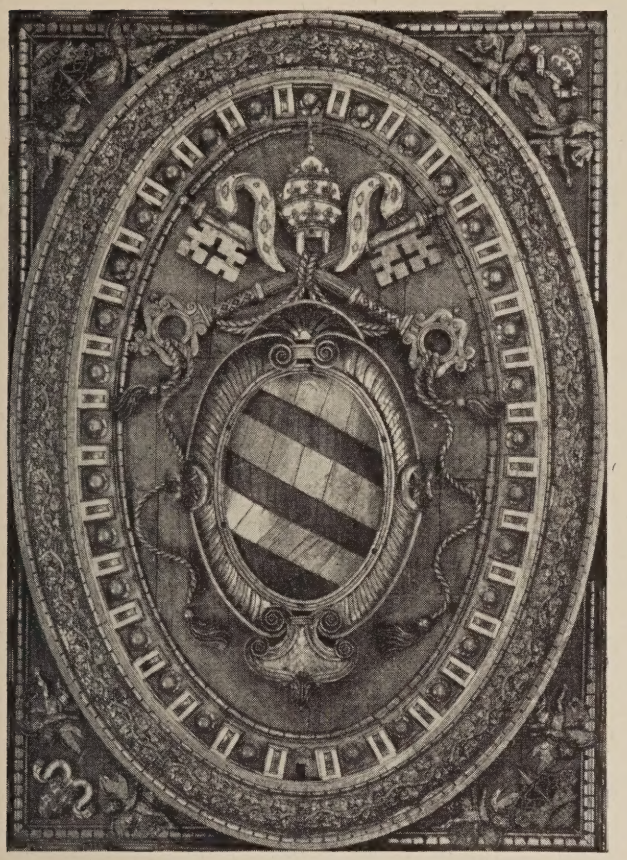


Fig. 169. *Photo Anderson.* Part of ceiling in St John Lateran with the arms of Pius V.

After 1549 however, when Paul III made one of the brothers a cardinal, and married the other one to Marzia Orsini, Gian-Giacomo began to use the arms of the Florentine Medici and the seals of his letters now at the Milan State Archives show a shield with the six *palle* but with the chief of the Empire from his original coat. Similar arms appear on the seal of Giovan-Angelo in 1551, and on that of Agosto Medici in 1554.

Whether Giovan-Angelo dropped the chief of the Empire while still a cardinal is not certain, but as Pope he used nothing but the Florentine Medici coat including even the augmentation of the three French lilies. His arms appear in this form on the Palazzo dei Giurisconsulti at Milan, on the Porta Pia in Rome and in St John Lateran (Fig. 167), as well as on his coins, though on his monument in Santa Maria degli Angeli we find the Florentine coat with the six red *palle* but without the fleur-de-lis augmentation (Fig. 168). The genuine Milanese coat with the single golden ball had thus been entirely dispensed with, and the later Medici of Marignano continued to bear the Florentine coat with the French augmentation. The Medici of Florence can be said to have tacitly agreed to, if not connived at, this substitution by acknowledging the Milanese family as cousins after their rise in the world.

(Santa Maria, "I Papi Lombardi," *Riv. Ar.* 1922, p. 143.)

PIUS V 1566–72

Antonio Ghislieri, son of Paolo Ghislieri, and of Domenica Algeri, was born at Bosco, near Alessandria, of a humble family originally from Pinerolo in Piedmont, but settled at

Fig. 170. Arms of Gregory XIII from an engraved portrait. From (Stirling-Maxwell,) *Examples of the Ornamental Heraldry of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1867.

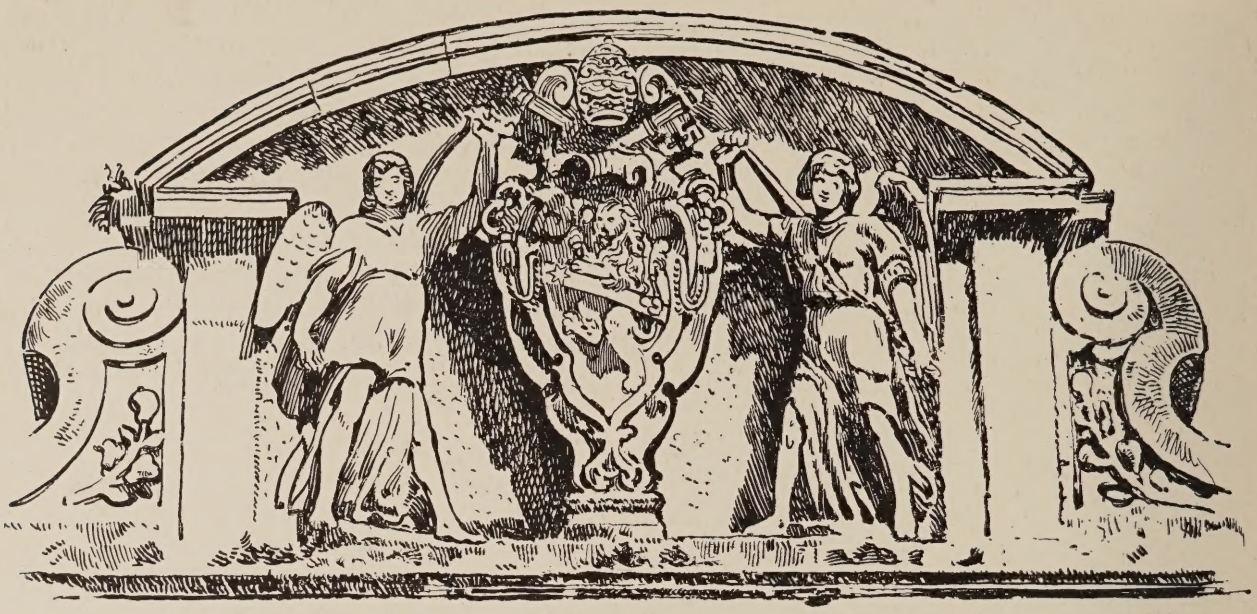


Fig. 171. Arms of Sixtus V from the Lateran Palace.

Bosco since 1366. He took the name Michele upon entering the Dominican Order.

The arms borne by Pius V, *Bendy gold and gules*, are those of a totally different Ghislieri family of Bologna. They may be seen on the ceiling of St John Lateran (Fig. 169), on the façade of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and on the Pope's tomb at Santa Maria Maggiore.

GREGORY XIII 1572–85

Ugo Boncompagni was the son of Cristoforo Boncompagni and of Angela Marescalchi.

The Boncompagni family descend from Pirrino, son of Giovanni, who belonged to the council of Bologna at the end of the 14th century, but they owe their rise to Gregory XIII. Their arms, *Gules a demi-dragon gold*, appear on the Pope's monument in St Peter's and on his coins, medals and portraits (Fig. 170).

SIXTUS V 1585–90

Felice di Peretto Ricci, son of Pietro *detto Peretto* Ricci of Montalto and of Marianna N..., belonged to a family which appeared in the public affairs of Montalto in the 15th century. Felice when Procurator-General of the Franciscan Order had already dropped the name of Ricci for that of Peretti, and his sister Camilla also preferred to call herself "de Peretti."

Sixtus V's arms, *Azure a lion holding a branch of a pear-tree gold, and a bend gules over all, charged with a molet gold in chief, and a triple mount silver in base*, can be seen in any part of Rome, for

Fig. 172. Arms of Urban VII from a coin.

the amount of building done by him during his five years' Pontificate is prodigious (Fig. 171). The story that Sixtus when a cardinal added the star, pear-tree and mounts to his original arms, is most improbable.

(F. de Broilo in *Riv. Ar.* 1903, p. 390.)

URBAN VII 1590

Giovanni-Battista Castagna was the son of Cosimo Castagna of Genoa and of Costanza

Ricci, and came from an old and important patrician family.

His arms, *Bendy silver and gules, a chief gules upheld by a fillet gold and charged with a chestnut bur slipped and leaved gold*, may be seen on his coins (Fig. 172)[1] and on his monument in Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

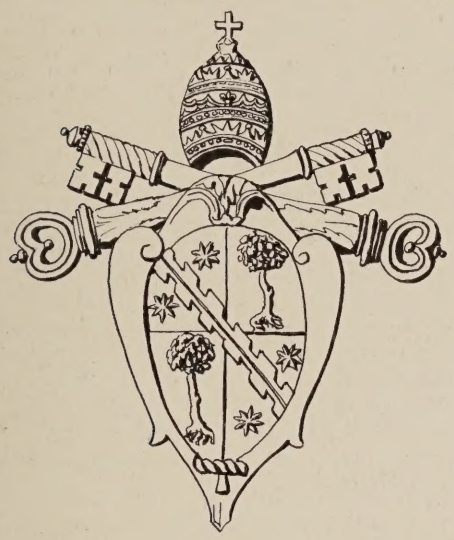


Fig. 173. Arms of Gregory XIV from the Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican Gardens.

GREGORY XIV 1590–91

Niccolo Sfondrati was the son of Francesco Sfondrati and of Anna Visconti. The Sfondrati were one of the principal families of Cremona to which city they have given no less than twenty-six *decuriones* between 1152 and 1668 the year of their extinction.

Gregory's arms, *Quarterly, first and fourth, gold a bend battled on both sides azure, charged with a bendlet silver, between two molets of eight points azure, second and third, silver a tree uprooted vert*, appear on his coins[2] and medals, and in the Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican (Fig. 173). The bends are sometimes drawn continuously across the shield. Not infrequently they are ragged instead of battled.

INNOCENT IX 1591

Gian-Antonio Facchinetti was born at Bologna but his family originally came from the village

Fig. 174. Arms of Innocent IX from a coin.

of Cravegna in the Val d'Antigorio near Domodossola. His grandfather, Navarino della Noce or di Nocetti, lived at Cravegna, but the Pope's father, Antonio, married Francesca Cini of Croveo, a nearby village, and came to Bologna in 1514 where he worked as a *facchino* (whence the name Facchinetti borne by his descendants).

Innocent IX's arms, *Silver a nut-tree uprooted vert*, seem to appear only on his medals (Fig. 174) and on his coins[3].

1 Ser. II. lix. 14–16. 2 Ser. I. lx. 5–9. 3 Ser. I. lx. 14.

CHAPTER XII

THE POPES OF THE 17TH, 18TH, 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

CLEMENT VIII 1592–1605

Ippolito Aldobrandini was the son of a consistorial advocate, Salvestro Aldobrandini, and of Lisa Dato. He belonged to a family which appeared in Florence in the 13th century.

The Aldobrandini arms, *Azure, a bend battled on both sides gold between six molets of eight points gold*, are frequently to be seen in Rome. Fine examples of them exist on the ceiling of St John Lateran and of the Vatican (Fig. 108) as well as on the Pope's monument in Santa Maria Maggiore.

Fig. 175. *Photo Alinari.* Arms of Paul V from his monument in St Peter's.

LEO XI 1605

Alessandro de' Medici, son of Ottaviano de' Medici and of Francesca Salviati niece of Leo X, belonged to a branch of the Medici family which ultimately bore the title of Princes of Ottaiano.

Leo XI's arms are the same as those of Leo X and of Clement VII, and can be seen on his monument in St Peter's and on the base of his statue in the cathedral of Pistoja.

PAUL V 1605–21

Camillo Borghese was a son of Antonio Borghese of Siena and of Flaminia Astalli of Rome.

The arms of Meo di Toto Bordighesi, one of the *asighuitori* of the Gabella in 1479, *Azure a dragon with raised wings gold*, appear on the painted cover of that year's tax-book in the Siena State Archives. About 1530 some of the family, including the Pope's branch, added a chief of the Empire (*gold an eagle sable*) to their coat (Fig. 175), of which the eagle is in some cases depicted rising with silver feet and sable beak (cp. the mosaic of Paul V's arms in the Confession of St Peter's).

(Lisini, *op. cit.*)

Fig. 176. Arms of Gregory XV from an official publication.

GREGORY XV 1621–23

Alessandro Ludovisi was the son of Pompeo Count Ludovisi and of Camilla Bianchini.

The Ludovisi, an old and noble family of Bologna to which belonged Giovanni Ludovisi senator of Rome in the 14th century, became extinct in the 15th, and the name and arms were assumed by the descendants of Ludovico di Monterenzi whom the last representative of the Ludovisi had adopted in 1470. These arms, generally blazoned, *Gules three bends silver retraits in chief*, were doubtless

Fig. 177. *Photo Alinari.* Arms of Urban VIII by Bernini, from the baldaquin in St Peter's.

originally *Gules a chief bendy silver and gules.* The second Ludovisi family became extinct in 1701 and the name and arms were then assumed by the Boncompagni.

Gregory XV's arms can be seen on his coins and official publications (Fig. 176), on his tomb in Sant' Ignazio, and on the façade of the modern Palazzo Margherita, originally Boncompagni-Ludovisi, where the three Ludovisi bends and the Boncompagni dragon alternate below the windows.

URBAN VIII 1623–44

Maffeo Barberini, son of Antonio Barberini of Florence and of Camilla Barbadoro, belonged to a family whose name had originally been Tafani da Barberino.

The Tafani only came into prominence in 1490 when one of them was elected Prior, and Urban VIII thought it worth while to have the second edition of Verino's *De Illustratione Urbis Florentiae* doctored by skilfully shifting some lines, so as to apply to his own family the greater part of the panegyric of the Neri da Barberino.

The Tafani da Barberino bore, *Gules three horse-flies* (*tafani*) *gold* (Fig. 177). Later the horse-flies became bees, and, apparently in the middle of the 16th century, the tinctures were changed to azure and gold. Still the original tinctures occasionally appear as for example on the monument of the Pope in St Peter's.

(Pasini-Frassoni, "La famiglia di Urbano VIII," *Riv. Ar.* 1917, pp. 481, 544.)

INNOCENT X 1644–45

Giovanni-Battista Pamphili was the son of Camillo Pamphili and of Flaminia di Bubalo-Cancellaria, and belonged to a family which appears in Gubbio in the 14th century. The branch of the Pope, which in 1760 became

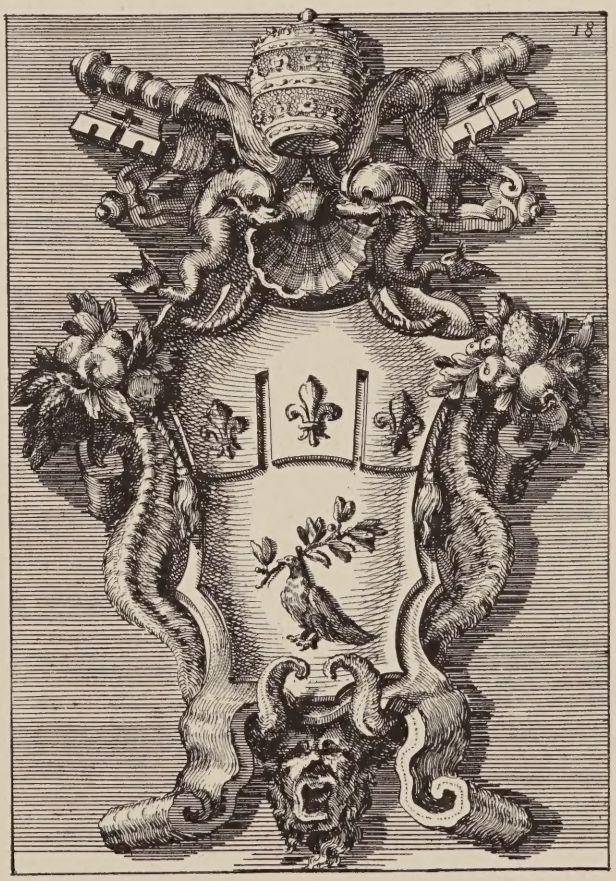


Fig. 178. Arms of Innocent X. From Juvarra, *Raccolta di varie targhe di Roma*, Rome, 1711.

extinct in the Doria family, descends from Antonio Pamphili who went to Rome and became fiscal to Pope Innocent VIII.

To the herald, the Pamphili arms with their curious chief present a problem in blazoning. The best reading is probably, *Gules, a dove silver holding an olive-branch vert, and a chief azure charged with three fleurs-de-lis gold divided by two pallets retraits in base gules* (Fig. 178). Originally this

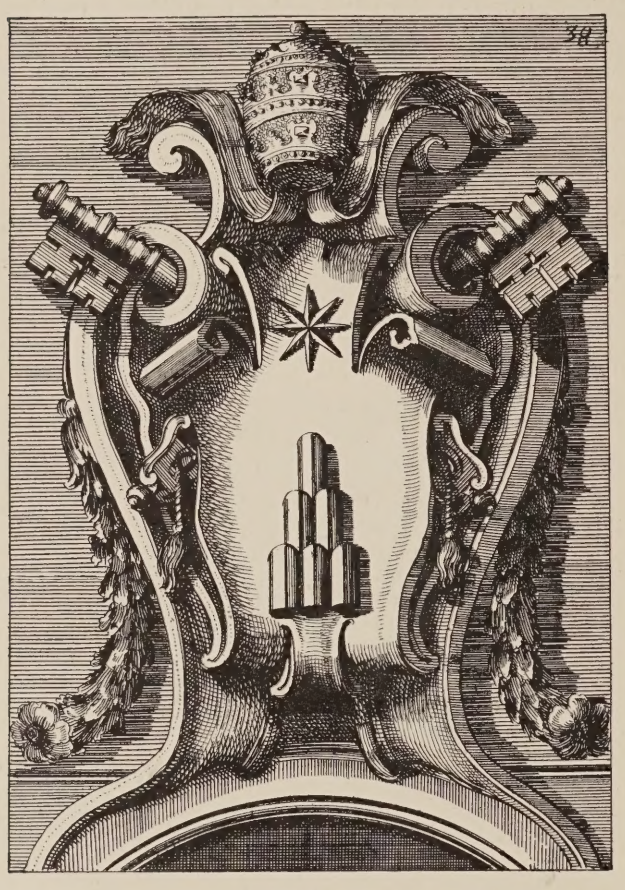


Fig. 179. Arms of Alexander VII. From Juvarra, *Raccolta di varie targhe di Roma*, Rome, 1711.

chief was doubtless nothing but the chief of Anjou, *capo d'Angiò*, so frequently to be seen on the coats of Guelph families; such a shield of the Pamphili arms dating from the 15th century may be seen in the museum at Perugia.

A tombstone of 1600 in San Pietro in Montorio seems to indicate that an alternative and certainly older version showed the *chief azure sustained by an inverted label of four points and charged with three fleurs-de-lis gold.* Several curious examples of Innocent X's arms are to be found in the *Raccolta di varie targhe di Roma* of Fil. Juvarra, Rome, 1711.

ALEXANDER VII 1655–67

Fabio Chigi, son of Flavio Chigi and of Laura Marsete, belonged to a Sienese family descended from Alemanno (*ca.* 1277) whose grandson Chigio gave his name to his house.

Alexander VII bore at times only the Chigi arms, *Gules a molet of eight points gold, on a sextuple mount gold* (Fig. 179), and at others a quartered coat with the Rovere arms in the first and fourth quarters. The Rovere augmentation had been granted in 1507 by Julius II to his banker and confidant Agostino Chigi il Magnifico, whose branch, after losing its fortune and leaving Rome, became extinct in 1580; Alexander VII was descended from Agostino's younger brother Sigismondo. Both types of his arms are to be seen on the colonnade of St Peter's. At Santa Maria del Popolo Alexander has also placed the tiara and keys in the chief of his quartered shield, probably in order to imitate some of the achievements of the Rovere Popes.

Fig. 180. Arms of Clement IX from a coin.

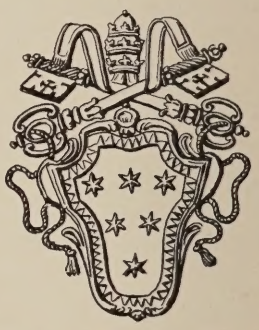


Fig. 181. Arms of Clement X from a coin.

CLEMENT IX 1667–69

Giulio Rospigliosi was the son of Girolamo and Caterina Rospigliosi of Pistoja.

The Rospigliosi appear in Pistoja in the 13th century and produced several famous condottieri in the 15th and 16th. Their arms, *Quarterly gold and azure, four lozenges counterchanged*, appear on Clement IX's coins (Fig. 180) and medals and on his monument in Santa Maria Maggiore.

CLEMENT X 1670–76

Emilio Altieri, son of Lorenzo Altieri and of Vittoria Delfini of Venice, was the last male descendant of a Roman family which had been of some importance since the 15th century. Their name and arms, *Azure six molets of eight points silver, and a border indented silver and azure* (Fig. 181), were taken over by the Albertoni-Paluzzi, one of whom married the Pope's niece.

Fine examples of Clement X's arms are to be seen on the mosaic pavement of the atrium of St Peter's, on the Pope's monument within the church, and on the Altieri palace in Rome. The indented border is not infrequently forgotten.

INNOCENT XI 1676–89

Benedetto Odescalchi was the son of Livio Odescalchi and of Paola Castelli of Como. The Odescalchi, who had appeared in Como in the 13th century, became extinct in the persons of Livio Odescalchi Duke of Syrmia and Bracciano (+ 1713) and of his sister Lucrezia wife of Alessandro Erba, whose second son took the name and arms of his mother's family.

The Odescalchi arms, *Silver, three bars gules accompanied by a lion passant in chief and six* (3, 2, 1) *cups all gules, with a chief of the Empire* (Fig. 182), probably consisted originally of a coat of vair *papelonné* (see Fig. 18, p. 9) with a lion in the chief, but the cups appear as early as 1485 in the book of Comasque arms, formerly the property of Count Cavargna di San Giuliano and now in the Museo Civico of Como[1].

ALEXANDER VIII 1689–91

Pietro Ottoboni was the son of Marco Ottoboni and of Vittoria Tornielli of Venice. In the 16th and 17th centuries three members of the Ottoboni, including the Pope's father, rose to the position of Grand Chancellor of the Republic, the highest position open to a non-noble, and in 1648 Alexander's father was admitted to the nobility on payment of 100,000 ducats. The family became extinct in 1725 when the name and arms passed by marriage to a branch of the Boncompagni-Ludovisi, now also extinct, whose heiress carried the name and arms in 1921 to a branch of the Rasponi family.

Alexander VIII's arms, *Party bendwise azure and vert, a bend gold and a chief gold with a double-headed eagle sable*, may be seen on his coins (Fig. 183) and on his tomb in St Peter's.

Fig. 182. Arms of Innocent XI from a coin.

Fig. 183. Arms of Alexander VIII from a coin.

INNOCENT XII 1691–1700

Antonio Pignatelli, born at Spinazzola in the Basilicata, was the son of Fabrizio Pignatelli Prince of Minervino and Marquess of Spinazzola and of Porzia Carafa daughter of the Duke of Andria.

The Pignatelli, one of the oldest baronial families of the kingdom of Naples, are still in existence although the Pope's branch became extinct at his death.

A very fine example of Innocent XII's arms, *Gold three jugs* (*pignate*) *sable*, is to be seen in the Baptistery Chapel in St Peter's (Fig. 184). The two upper jugs are generally set facing each other.

CLEMENT XI 1700–21

Gianfrancesco Albani, son of Carlo Albani senator of Rome and of Elena Mosca of Pesaro, was born at Urbino in 1649. There is no cause to connect with the older Bergamo house of the same name this Urbino family

1 I am indebted to M. Lienhardt-Riva of Bellinzona for the information touching the Odescalchi and Rezzonico arms in this book of arms.

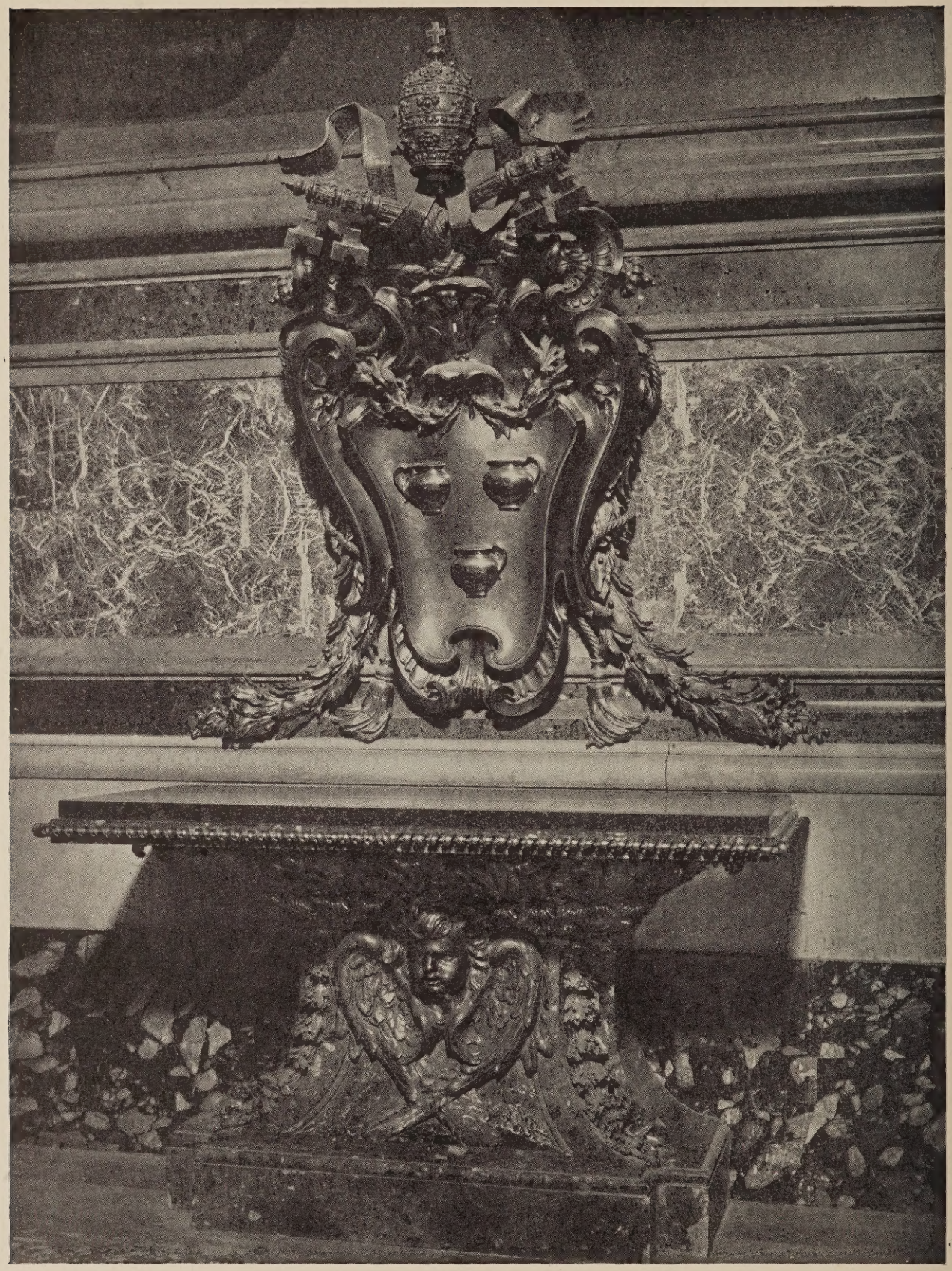


Fig. 184. *Photo Anderson.* Arms of Innocent XII, by Fontana, in the Baptistery Chapel, St Peter's.

which owes its rise to the Pope's uncle Orazio Albani, made senator of Rome in 1633 as a reward for his success in arranging the transfer of the duchy of Urbino to the Holy See.

The Albani arms, frequently to be seen in Rome, are, *Azure, a fess between a molet of eight points in chief, and a triple mount in base, all gold* (Fig. 185); the mounts are not infrequently drawn as rocks, as for instance in the ceiling of San Clemente in Rome.

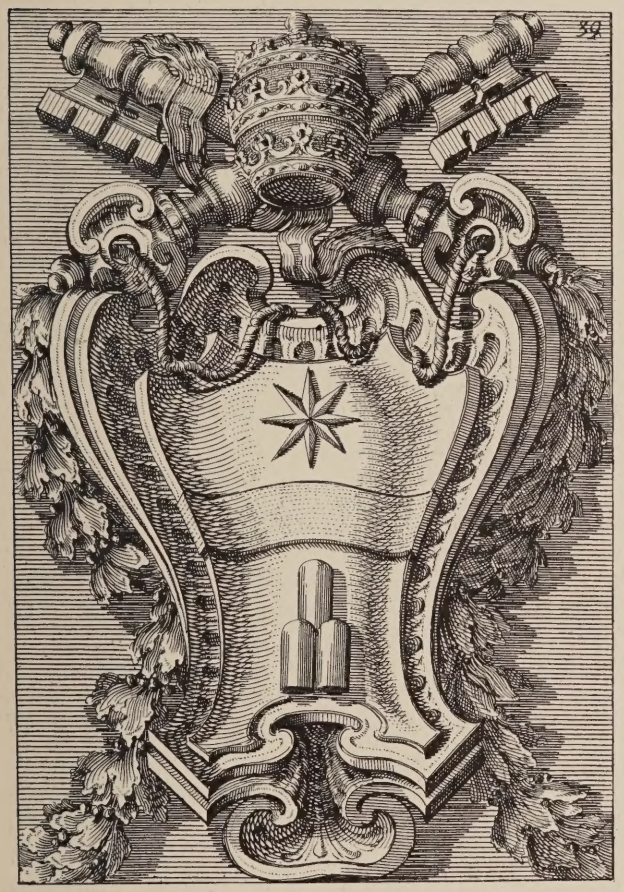


Fig. 185. Arms of Clement XI. From Juvarra, *Raccolta di varie targhe di Roma*, Rome, 1711.

INNOCENT XIII 1721–24

Michelangelo Conti, the eldest son of Carlo Conti Duke of Poli and of Isabella Muti, was born in Rome in 1655 and belonged to the same Roman house as Innocent III, Gregory IX, and Alexander IV (*q.v.*).

Innocent XIII's arms, *Gules an eagle checky gold and sable, crowned and armed gold* (Fig. 186), can be seen in the court of the hospital of San Spirito in Rome, and on a fine mosaic pavement in the castle of Sant' Angelo. The Pope's tomb in the Grotte Vaticane shows only the Conti eagle engraved on the tombstone.

BENEDICT XIII 1724–30

Pier-Francesco Orsini was born in 1649 and was the eldest son of Ferrante Orsini Duke of Gravina and of Giovanna Frangipani della Tolfa. The Dukes of Gravina, a branch of the great Roman house to which had belonged Coelestine III and Nicholas III (*q.v.*), are descended from Francesco Orsini Count of Trani and Conversano, first Duke of Gravina, and prefect of Rome in 1495.

Fig. 186. Arms of Innocent XIII from a coin.

The future Pope succeeded as Duke of Gravina in 1660, but in 1668 he resigned his fiefs and titles in favour of his younger brother, and entered the Dominican Order under the name of Vincenzo-Maria.

Benedict XIII's arms are, *Party, dexter, silver three bends gules, a chief silver charged with a rose gules and sustained by a fillet gold charged with an eel azure* (Orsini); *sinister, azure a tower silver* (Gravina); *a chief of the Dominican Order, chapé sable and silver, in base a dog spotted silver and sable couched holding a lighted torch in his mouth and his paws lying on a book, surmounted by a palm branch and a branch of lilies crossed in saltire all proper and passed through a crown gold, in chief a molet of eight rays silver.* The eel in the Orsini coat is supposed to represent the county of Anguillara, which however never belonged to the Gravina branch, but it seems

to have been originally merely a decorative line similar to the one in the Savelli shield.

Benedict XIII's arms may be seen on his coins and on his engraved portraits (Fig. 114).

CLEMENT XII 1730–40

Lorenzo Corsini, son of Bartolomeo Corsini and of Isabella Strozzi, was born in Florence in 1652. His family, which had given seven gonfaloniers and forty-nine priors to Florence,

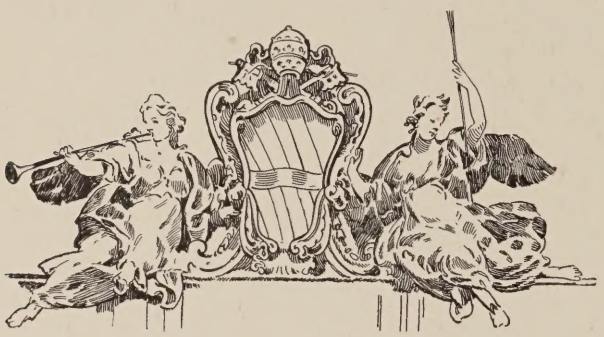


Fig. 187. Arms of Clement XII from the Palazzo della Consulta, Rome.

had been one of the most prominent in the city since the 13th century and is still flourishing.

Fine examples of the Pope's arms, *Bendy silver and gules, a fess azure*, are to be seen on the façade of the Consulta (Fig. 187) and in the pavement of the atrium of St John Lateran.

BENEDICT XIV 1740–58

Prospero Lambertini was born at Bologna in 1675 and was the son of Marcello Lambertini, a senator of the city, and of Lucrezia Bulgarini. His family appears in Bologna in the 13th century.

Benedict XIV's arms are, *Gold four pales gules*, but frequently only three pales are shown (Fig. 117), as is the case on the Fontana di Trevi and in the frescoes of the Vatican Library. On some of his coins the family coat is said to be impaled with the complete arms of Benedict XIII, to whom he owed his elevation to the cardinalate, thus showing the most elaborate coat borne by any Pope, but the writer has not succeeded in discovering an example.

CLEMENT XIII 1758–69

Carlo Rezzonico, son of Giambattista Rezzonico Count della Torre and of Vittoria Barbarigo, was born in Venice in 1693. He belonged to an old and noble family of Como of which a branch, settled in Venice in the 16th century, was received into the Venetian patriciate in 1687.

In the 15th-century book of Comasque arms, now in the Como Museum, the original arms of the family, with the name "de Reconico," appear as, *Silver, a tower azure within a border gobony azure and silver, and a chief gold with an eagle sable.* The arms granted in 1665 to a Como branch with a patent of baron of the Empire, which the Pope also bore, were, *Quarterly, first, gules, a cross silver, second and third, azure a tower silver, fourth, gules three bends sinister silver; over all a scutcheon gold with a two-headed crowned eagle sable, the scutcheon surmounted by a coronet.*

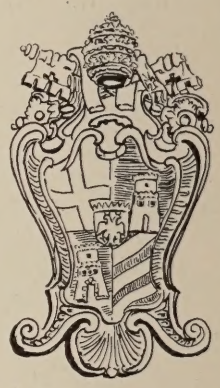


Fig. 188. Arms of Clement XIII from the Palazzo dell' Annona, Rome.

Clement XIII's arms appear not infrequently in Rome, for instance above the gate of the Palazzo dell' Annona (Fig. 188).

CLEMENT XIV 1769–74

Giovanni-Vincenzo-Antonio Ganganelli (in religion Lorenzo-Francesco) was born at Sant' Arcangelo near Rimini in 1705 and was the son of a doctor of medicine, Lorenzo Ganganelli, and of Angela-Serafina Mazza, also of a medical family. The Ganganelli appear in Borgo Pace at the end of the 16th century, but Lorenzo Ganganelli became a burgess of Sant' Arcangelo in 1710, and, when a cardinal, his son the future Pope was enrolled among the nobility of Rimini.

To his paternal coat, *Azure, a fess gules between three molets of six points gold in chief, and a triple mount gold in base*, Clement XIV added a chief of the Order of St Francis, *Silver, a long cross proper, over all two arms crossed in saltire, one*

nude, the other clad as that of a Franciscan friar both hands with the stigmata, all proper (Fig. 189). When the field of the chief is azure, as is not infrequently the case, the chief is sometimes delineated by a fillet gold.

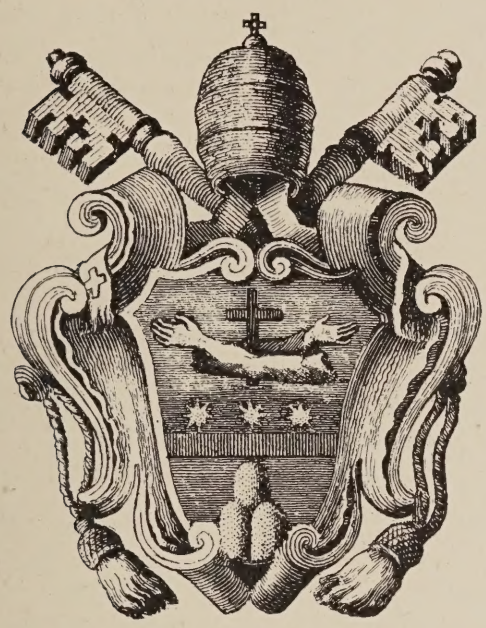


Fig. 189. Arms of Clement XIV from an engraved portrait.

PIUS VI 1775–99

Gian-Angelo Braschi, son of Marco-Aurelio Braschi and of Anna-Teresa Countess Bandi, was born at Cesena in 1717. A bishop of Sarsina, born in 1664, had belonged to this family, and the future Pope's father was made a count by the Emperor in 1721. The arms granted at this time were, *Quarterly, first and fourth, gold a two-headed eagle sable surmounted by an imperial crown, second and third, azure a fess silver, charged with three molets of six points gold and accompanied by two fleurs-de-lis silver, one in chief and one in base; over all a scutcheon gules, three roses silver and a chief silver with three molets of eight points gold* (Fig. 190). The Pope however placed in the scutcheon, *Gules, a head of Boreas in the dexter chief blowing on a natural lily proper on a terrace vert, a chief silver with three molets of eight points gold*; this latter shield is more frequently borne alone (Fig. 116).

PIUS VII 1800–23

Barnaba Chiaramonti (in religion Gregorio) was born at Cesena in 1742, and was the son of Scipione Count Chiaramonti and of Giovanna Coronata dei Marchesi Ghini. His

Fig. 190. Bookstamp with the arms of Pius VI.

family, which has been attached by imaginative genealogists to various houses of similar names in France, Spain and Italy, appears in Cesena in the 16th century.

The Chiaramonti arms are, *Party bendwise gold and azure, a bend silver with three Moors' heads sable their eyes bandaged silver; a chief azure with three molets of eight points gold.* Pius VII bore these arms in sinister, together with, in the dexter, the arms of the Benedictine Order, *Silver, a triple mount vert bearing a cross of Calvary sable, with the word PAX sable in fess over all* (sometimes the cross is placed on the word Pax).

A good example of the arms of this Pope is to be seen on the base of the obelisk in the Pincio Gardens (Fig. 115).

LEO XII 1823–29

Annibale - Francesco - Clemente - Melchiore - Girolamo-Nicola della Genga was born in 1760 in the castle of La Genga near Fabriano, and was the sixth child of Ilario Count della Genga and of Maria-Luigia Countess Periberti. The counts della Genga appear in possession of La Genga in the 12th century, and their history is the usual one of Italian feudal families, namely an unending struggle against the neighbouring city, in this case Fabriano.

Leo XII's arms, *Azure an eagle crowned gold*, appear on his monument and on his coins (Fig. 191), and in mosaic on the façade of the cathedral at Orvieto.

Fig. 191. Arms of Leo XII from a coin.

Fig. 192. Arms of Gregory XVI from a coin.

PIUS VIII 1829–30

Francesco-Saverio Castiglioni, the son of Carlo Castiglioni and of Sanzia Ghislieri di Feni, was born at Cingoli in 1761. His family descend from Giulio Castiglioni, a banker established in 1600 at Cingoli who is supposed to be a descendant of the Castiglioni of Vedano near Varese, a branch of the ancient house of Castiglione Olona.

The Pope's arms are the same as those of the Castiglione Olona family, *Gules a lion silver holding a castle gold* (Pl. IV). Above the door of the sacristy of St Peter's the lion is placed on a terrace.

GREGORY XVI 1831–46

Bartolomeo-Alberto Cappelari (in religion Mauro) was the son of Giovanni-Battista Cappelari and of Giulia Cera, and was born at Belluno.

His family, the Cappelari della Collomba, entered the patriciate of Belluno in 1670 and received a confirmation of nobility from the Austrian Emperor on 28th February 1821. Their arms are *Party fess-wise azure and silver, a fess gules charged with three molets of six points gold and accompanied in chief by a hat with two strings and tassels sable.* Gregory XVI bore these arms in sinister parted with those of the Camaldolese Order, *Azure a chalice gold between two silver doves, armed gules, drinking from the chalice and surmounted in chief by a comet gold set pale-wise*; this latter coat is also found with the field gules. The position of the fess

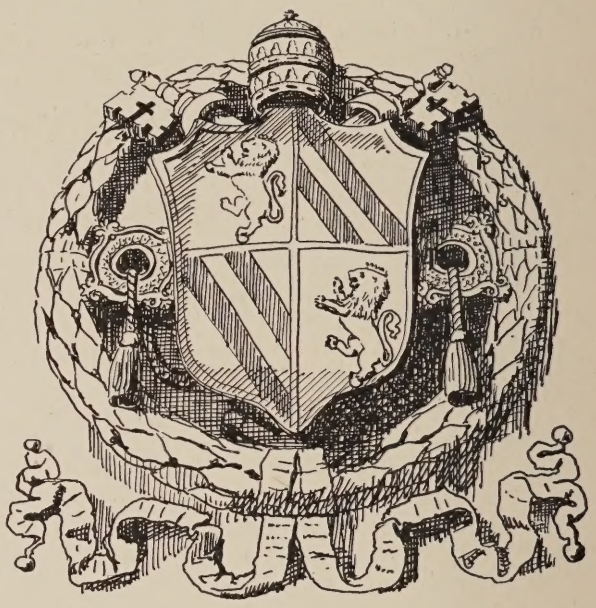


Fig. 193. Arms of Pius IX from the Piazza of St Peter's.

in the Cappelari coat also varies, being sometimes placed higher or lower than normal.

Gregory XVI's arms appear on his tomb in St Peter's, on his coins (Fig. 192) and on the usual official documents.

PIUS IX 1846–78

Giovanni-Maria Mastai-Ferretti, son of Count Girolamo Mastai-Ferretti and of Caterina Countess Volazzi, was born at Sinigaglia in 1792.

The family of Mastai, which originally came from Crema, settled in Sinigaglia in 1540 and became patricians of that city in 1624. They were created counts by the Duke of Parma in 1705.

The Mastai bore, *Azure a lion crowned gold, rampant and standing in a roundel gold.* Owing to a marriage in 1653 with the heiress of the house of Ferretti counts of Castelferretto, the

Mastai quartered the Ferretti arms, *Silver two bends gules*, in the second and third quarters (Fig. 193). Variants are frequent as the roundel is sometimes left out, and the two bends turn into bendy of six, three bends or bends arched.

LEO XIII 1878–1903

Gioacchino-Vincenzo-Raffaele-Aloisio Pecci, born at Carpineto in 1810, was the son of Domenico Lodovico Pecci, who commanded the guard of Prince Aldobrandini at Carpineto, and of Anna Prosperi Buzzi, of Cori.

The Pecci appear in Carpineto in the 16th century; their claim to descent from the older and more important Pecci of Siena appears to be based on no evidence whatsoever, and young Gioacchino was even obliged to get himself inscribed on the roll of the nobility of Anagni before he could enter the Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici. There is however some probability of the descent of the Carpineto family from the older house of Gubbio which also bears a pine-tree in its shield.

In the cloisters of San Pietro and elsewhere in Carpineto numerous coats of the Pecci family are to be seen showing a bewildering variety of combinations of pine-trees, fleurs-de-lis, rose-bushes, stars and comets.

Leo XIII however bore *Azure, a pine-tree on a terrace vert between two fleurs-de-lis silver, a comet set bendwise in the dexter chief gold, and a fess silver over all* (Fig. 194). Variants are common for the comet is sometimes silver and the fleurs-de-lis gold.

(Fumi and Lisini, *Genealogia dei Conti Pecci, signori di Argiano*, Pisa, 1880.)

PIUS X 1903–14

Giuseppe-Melchiore Sarto was born at Riese in 1835, and was the son of Giovanni-Battista Sarto and of Margherita Sansoni. His father was bailiff of the courts at Riese and came of a peasant family originally hailing from Villa Estense.

When Bishop of Mantua the future Pope adopted the following arms, *Azure, a three-tined anchor pale-wise above waves of the sea all proper, in chief a molet of six points gold.* As Patriarch of Venice he added to the coat *a chief silver with a lion of St Mark standing proper*, and he continued to use these arms during his Pontificate (Fig. 195). The bearing of the forequarters of the lion of St Mark, the *molleca*, or even the entire lion in a chief gules is the common practice of the ducal families of Venice, and the somewhat unheraldic change of tinctures in Pius X's arms was due to a desire to distinguish the symbol of the patron of the diocese from the ancient banner of the

Fig. 194. Arms of Leo XIII by Otto Hupp. From the *Münchener Kalender* of 1894.

Venetian Republic. The anchor is not infrequently set bendwise and is also represented as a foul anchor.

BENEDICT XV 1914–22

Giacomo della Chiesa, born at Genoa in 1854, was the son of Giuseppe Marquess della Chiesa and of Giovanna Migliorati.

The Pope's family originally came from Acqui, passed to Genoa towards the end of the 15th century and was admitted in 1528 to the Albergo Salvago, thereby entering the Genoese patriciate.

The della Chiesa arms are *Party bendwise azure and gold, a church silver roofed gules and a chief gold with a demi-eagle sable* (Fig. 196).

PIUS XI 1922–

Achille Ratti was born at Desio near Milan on 31st May 1857. He is the son of Francesco

Ratti and of Teresa Galli, and belongs to a family which originally came from Cherasco in Piedmont, but has been settled for three centuries at Rogeno in the Brianza.

Fig. 195. Arms of Pius X by Otto Hupp.
From the *Münchener Kalender* of 1906.

Pius XI's arms are *Silver three roundels gules, and a chief gold with an eagle sable* (Pl. I). The 15th-century book of arms in the Biblioteca Trivulziana gives these arms to the "De Ratis de Tretona," a family which appears at Tortona in the 13th century. Similar arms are borne by a Ratti family of Genoa, and identical ones by the Oppizoni of Milan apparently connected agnatically with the Ratti of Tortona. A connection of the Cherasco-

Fig. 196. Arms of Benedict XV by Otto Hupp.
From the *Münchener Kalender* of 1916.

Rogeno family with the Tortona house is not at all impossible.

(Santa Maria, "I Papi Lombardi," *Riv. Ar.* 1922, p. 42. "Les Armes de S.S. Pie XI," *Les Échos de St Maurice*, 1929, p. 192.)

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